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THE GROS VENTRES OF MONTANA.

Part II

RELIGION AND RITUAL

BY

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THE GROS VENTRES OF MONTANA:

Part II

RELIGION AND RITUAL

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PREFACE

This second part of the record of the "old way of life" of the 114
Gros Ventres of Montana was written by Rt. Rev. John M. Cooper,
late Professor and Head of the Department of Anthropology of The 128
Catholic University of America. The manuscript had been all but completed by him at the time of his death in 1949. Dr. Cooper had intended to incorporate changes that might be suggested in view of my 1948 field check-up of the contents of the volume and then to critically edit the manuscript,—as only he could have done. I have thought it best to publish the manuscript essentially as Dr. Cooper had written it and to give additional information, obtained in 1948 and subsequently, in footnotes identified as my own. I have also added the cross-references to The Gros Ventres of Montana: Part I, Social Life, which appeared in 1953 and which was intended as a background for the present volume.

The general plan of the joint undertaking by Dr. Cooper and 128
myself, and the procedure followed by us, have been outlined in the Preface and the Introduction to Part I, Social Life. Data on the principal informants have been given in the Appendix to that
volume. These will not be repeated. We must note, however, with 115
profound regret that Thomas Main died in November, 1952, and that The Boy died in January, 1956.

The Boy, a man of distinct philosophical turn of mind, as mentioned several times by Dr. Cooper in the present volume, is responsible for the greater part of the material on ritual and ceremonial aspects of Gros Ventre life. The Boy, to a greater degree than his contemporaries, had been interested in ritual and its meaning since his early youth. From his father, Lame Bull, a keeper of the sacred Flat Pipe and an outstanding man, The Boy had acquired a rich store of knowledge which his enquiring mind enlarged in adult life. He was constantly discussing the past of his people with many other men, older than himself, who had participated more fully than was possible for him to do in the Gros Ventre way of life before the disappearance of the buffalo in 1887.

114 The Boy and the other Gros Ventres who cooperated with Dr. Cooper were most anxious to have preserved for the future the religious phases of their culture. The term "religious" is of course to be taken in a very broad sense. In comparing the present account with that published by Dr. Kroeber in 1907 differing emphases emerge. In the early years of the century some of the magico-religious beliefs and practices were still operative among the Gros Ventres and were not willingly explained by their practitioners. On the one hand, therefore, our account is much fuller and more explicit than is Dr. Kroeber's concerning the sacred Pipes, the meaning of the various rituals and of the personal supernatural powers,—all illustrated by our informants through reference to identifiable individuals no longer living. On the other hand Dr. Kroeber's treatment of the ceremonial dances is more complete. Inasmuch, however, as details given by our informants supplement his description, it was decided to publish ours in full despite some overlapping. Similarly it was thought worthwhile to present such myths and tales as were volunteered by our informants since some of these show variations upon those in the much more complete collection by Dr. Kroeber, and a couple of myths obtained by us do not appear in his series. One of these latter confirms his earlier prediction that certain of the more widespread motifs, which did not occur in the tales obtained by him, should be found among the Gros Ventres.

114 123 Because neither Doctor Cooper nor I had witnessed any of the latter day ceremonies in connection with the sacred Pipes, such as the opening of the Flat Pipe bundle in 1946, The Boy initiated the holding of a ceremony when I was on the Fort Belknap Reservation in 1948. In it he enacted the role of keeper of the Flat Pipe and went through some of the ritual, though the Pipe was not unwrapped at that time. The photos in Plates 1 and 2A were taken on this occasion. For Plate 1 A-B we are indebted to Mr. Duke Wellington, Agent of the Fort Belknap Reservation, who received his Gros Ventre name just after the Flat Pipe ceremony was completed. I took those on Plates 1C and 2A.

000 We are grateful to Dr. Louis W. Hagener, Professor of Biology, Northern Montana College, for information regarding the 1951

opening of the Feathered Pipe bundle and to Dr. Otto Nitz, Professor of Chemistry, Stout Institute, Menomonie, Wisconsin, for permission to reproduce his photographs which make up Plates 2 B-C and 3 A-D. For the pictures of the painted lodges we are indebted to The Boy (Plate 4A) and to Dr. Karl Herzfeld (Plate 4 B-C). Miss Chiye Sano very kindly made the pen drawing of the Flat Pipe (Figure 1) from a sketch given to us by Thomas Main at the time of the opening of the bundle in 1946.

I know that Dr. Cooper would have wished to indorse to the full my own expression of gratitude to all who have cooperated in any way with us in making the record of the Gros Ventre old way of life.

Regina Flannery

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CHAPTER I

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS

Before beginning our description of Gros Ventre ritual observances, it seems desirable, in the interests of order and clarity, to give some account one by one of the various Gros Ventre supernatural beings. These beings may be divided for our purposes into three categories: first, those to whom cult in the form of prayer or sacrifice was offered; second, those to whom no cult proper is offered but who enter in one form or another into ritual or who are conceived as actually helpful or harmful to the living Gros Ventres of modern times; third, those to whom no cult is rendered, who do not enter into ritual at all, and who, while conceived as helpful or harmful to the Gros Ventres at some time in the remoter or archaic past, are not so and have not been so in more recent or modern times. Beings of our third category belong rather to the realm of folklore or traditional history than to that of religion and will be given only passing attention here. 776 128

The chief beings of our first category are: the Supreme Being, the storm being, the sun, the earth, the Four Holy Men, Broken Knife, He-who-starved-to-death, the Last Child, the water monster(s), Little Spirit, He-who-dreams-of-Bha'a, the ghost helpers, the beings who gave power, the petroglyph beings. We shall now take these up in order, giving for each their names, nature, attributes and functions. The rites connected with them will be described in later chapters. 776

THE SUPREME BEING

The most common name by which the Supreme Being was called or addressed was Ixtcibəni:həhat (Above Ni:həhat).[1] The

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[1] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, p. 275. In our transcription, a, e, i, o, u, have continental values: ä is flat as in English "bat"; e is close to French "feu"; vowels are lengthened by a colon, as a:; ə is the unstressed indeterminate vowel; θ is th as in English "thing"; tc is a single sound as ch in English "church"; tc̓ is the same sound but glottalized and occurs only terminally; apostrophe indicates glottal stop. [104 194]

776 second element in the word is the name of the culture hero and
trickster, who in the early mythical period taught the Gros
Ventres how to pray to the Supreme Being, and how to make
a living. The present-day Gros Ventres can give no clue to the
etymological meaning of the word ni:hɔhat, nor can the writer
[778 analyze it. The word is also used for spider. The spider is in a cer-
821] tain sense sacred and, if it is killed, rain comes. The spider, the Gros
825 Ventres say, can in spite of its small size do wonderful things
with its web, can make it stay anywhere, can climb up and down
it, and, in general, is usually master of the situation. The name
of the trickster Ni:hɔhat is ordinarily translated as "white man"
by English-speaking Gros Ventres and the translation is derived
from a folktale concerning an escapade of Ni:hɔhat in which he
had his hair cut off.[2] Thus it was that when the Gros Ventres
first saw the white man with his hair cut short, in contrast to the
Gros Ventres' long hair, they called him by the name of the
trickster. Consequently, the name for the Supreme Being Ixtcibɔni:
hɔhat is often rendered in English as "The One Above the White
Man" or, in abbreviated form, "The One Above."

The second name for the Supreme Being is Behä:tixtč. The meaning, "the master, boss, head, leader of all" is quite clear (be:-, be:hi, "all"; änä:tixtč, "he is master, boss, head, of group or organization).[3]

The third name Ni:nänä'ätč, is said to be an older form which was still in use in the lifetime of The Boy and Thick, and it was felt that it had the meaning of "study, think, meditate," and that the whole might signify "the being who has control over everything by thought or will,"—a concept which, it may be added, would be quite in keeping with the Gros Ventre idea of the power of sheer thought or thought-wish by human beings. But this analysis was given by our informants with a good deal of hesitation. 776 The form of direct address, Ni:nänä'än, was not used at the sacred pipe rites nor in trivial matters, but in grave emergencies, —in very solemn oaths or vows, extreme danger in battle, critical illness,—which concern the life or welfare of human beings.

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[2] Kroeber, 1907, pp. 72-73, gives a version of this episode which is substantially the same as the one obtained by me.

[782] [3] In 1948 The Boy stated that the Gros Ventres addressed the Supreme Being by this term "when they wanted something big, e.g. when they prayed for a good harvest of all the things the earth produced. Thus we are saying a kind of mass prayer indicating that the Supreme Being owns everything. He made it and he owns it, and it was recognized that they depended on him." [R.F.]

The fourth form of address used for the Supreme Being was Iθəna'an "our (inclusive) father."[4] This name was in use as far back as our oldest informants, Coming Daylight and Singer, could remember. The Gros Ventres are quite aware that their close linguistic and cultural kin, the Arapaho, use the name "father" for the Supreme Being. The Gros Ventres, however, unlike the Arapaho, never call him "grandfather."

Finally, the Supreme Being is also spoken of as initci:t nihəne:hənixtč [171] (life, he owns) "owner, or master of life," a common expression to or of the Supreme Being among other Algonquian-speaking peoples.[5]

The Supreme Being, unlike the culture-hero, had no wife or children. He does not figure at all in the Gros Ventre folklore, nor even in the origin myths to be given later, except insofar as the culture-hero taught the people to worship him. The Supreme Being's appearance was completely unknown; the culture hero who taught the people to pray to him did not describe how he looked; and in all the folklore and sacred stories of the Gros Ventres there is no record of the Supreme Being having a body or taking material form or appearing in dream or vision in material form. As The Boy put it: "If anyone had ever seen the Supreme Being, he would have described how he looked, and this story would have been handed down as the biggest one in all the Gros Ventre tales."

The nearest to such is a story regarding the first Catholic priest[6] 776
who came to the Gros Ventres when The Boy's father, Lame Bull 797
(born 1824) was a young man old enough to remember the event well. At first the Gros Ventres said: "The Supreme Being has come down from above. He is the priest." The Supreme Being

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[4] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, p. 275.
[5] Cf. Cooper, 1934, p. 71.
[6] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 20.

776 was supposed to have come on earth far up north, and to have made the rounds of all the tribes, finally reaching the Gros Ventres.
797 The Gros Ventres at first so called the priest, but when they discovered that he ate and slept like themselves, they ceased calling him by this name.

776 In the sweatlodge rite, to be described later, the first of those invited to sweat was the Supreme Being.[7] In how far such an invitation was anthropomorphically conceived is hard to say; it need not, of course, necessarily have implied anything beyond symbolic deference.

The Boy and Thick stated: "He is not a 'false person.' He is entirely in a class by himself. We think so much of him that we do not dare to try to learn what he looks like. We class him as a kind of shadow. He is the most wonderful and powerful of all beings who have no bodies."

778 No statues or images or pictographs of any kind were ever made of the Supreme Being, nor were there any symbolic representations of him.

The Supreme Being was alone and one, and, as compared with other sacred or superhuman beings of religion, myth, and folklore,
782 he ranked first. Where prayers included invocation of more beings than one, the Supreme Being's name always came first; in ritual invitations before sweating or partaking of food, he was always invited first. He was, however, much more than *primus inter pares*. He was in a class by himself as not only the most powerful but as the ultimate source of the power possessed by other beings and as the ultimate ruler and controller of these others. Bha'a,
821 the Storm Being, who ranked next in importance to the Supreme Being, was controller of storms, thunder and lightning, and exercised a certain limited autonomy. He had this power and office, however, not of himself, but by delegation from the Supreme Being, and exercised it as the agent of the Supreme Being, as will be explained more fully later. Then, too, while the Gros Ventres through fasting and crying on the hills or prairie sought supernatural power, not directly from the Supreme Being, but from other beings—animals and others—it was the Supreme Being who

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[7] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, p. 275.

had given to these beings the power which they in turn gave to humans. 776

The Supreme Being resides up above but he is in no sense identified with the sky or firmament or with any heavenly body. He is quite distinct therefrom, and in particular, quite distinct from the sun. "The sun is his work, his property like," according to Singer. Al Chandler stated, "If he did not want the sun to shine or to perform whatever duties it has, it couldn't do these things." While he resided up above, he could be prayed to from anywhere. In this sense he was not localized, whereas many other beings such as power-bestowing ones, were sought out in their particular dwelling places and there prayed to. [782]

Children were taught that the Supreme Being looked down on them from above and saw and heard all that they did, both good deeds such as charity to the needy, and evil ones such as stealing, even when the children thought they were quite alone and unobserved.[a]

The Supreme Being was emphatically the owner and master of all things, of the universe, the supernatural beings, as above stated, human beings (not merely the Gros Ventres), the animals, the earth, the heavenly bodies. All informants fully agreed on this. As The Boy reasoned it out: "He was master of everything on the earth and above, even of the spirit world, and not merely of the Gros Ventres, but of everybody."

Whether he was conceived of as the maker or creator of all things is not altogether clear. Three or four of our best informants stated categorically that "He made all things." He was "the creator of all things," "the ruler of all and creator of everything." "He made the earth," "He created us." There is some confusion, however, partly at least on account of the role of Earthmaker (see below, p. 23).

The Supreme Being was actively interested in the welfare of human beings, first of all as the giver, protector and master of life, and as the donor of food, but also as the source of supernatural power and of wealth.

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[a] For a discussion of difference in point of view between men and women informants, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 169-70.

776 He was the "master of life" as previously mentioned. Long life was the result of something more than conformity to "health rules," such as daily morning cold baths to harden the body.[9] "The Supreme Being allows people to live long. If he wanted, he cut off their lives." "When people die, it is the Supreme Being who cuts off their lives." "Very old people lived a long life because they were pitied by the Supreme Being." The Boy's father, Lame Bull, said that "a man lives, not his own life, but according to what is given him and wished by Ixtcibani:hahat. A man has what he has by the wish of the One Above."

776 The Gros Ventres understood by that that the aged had survived
to old age not by accident, but by the permission and wish
888 of the Supreme Being. It was common for young men to approach
in tears a very old man or woman, offer a pipe, and request him
or her to ask the Supreme Being to grant him long life, to make
him a good warrior who would be immune to arrows or bullets
when he was shot at.[10]

776 In grave illness the Supreme Being would be appealed to to
spare the sick person's life. It was a common belief that the
721 Supreme Being would not permit a large attacking force of enemies
782 to slaughter a smaller number at home in its own camp. When a
[755] group of young Gros Ventre recruits was leaving for World War
II, the Supreme Being was prayed to in an old song that he would
watch over them and let them come back home unharmed; although there were some casualties among Gros Ventre soldiers in
World War II, not one of the above particular group was even
wounded.

The Supreme Being as the one who "owns everything" was the
776 provider of food. He was not called "master of food," as was
[171] common among the northeastern Algonquians,[11] living closer than
the Gros Ventres to a scarcity economy; food, it was felt, was
"too little" a thing, and the title undignified. But all good things
to eat, including "wild" food such as berries, fruits, roots and
tubers, came from the Supreme Being and were given by him.

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[9] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 144.

[10] Cf. Flannery, 1953, pp. 195-96.

[11] Cooper, 1934, p. 71.

Supernatural power too, while gotten immediately from animals, 776
mountains (mountain spirits), and other creatures, through fasting
and sleeping out on the hills, came ultimately from the Supreme
Being, as mentioned previously. A person going out on a power [782
quest, would pray first to the Supreme Being to command or 787]
compel the lesser being to give the power being sought. Power to
doctor and to achieve war success and even to acquire wealth thus
in the last analysis came from the Supreme Being. So too did
the (supernatural?) power inherent in earnest wishes or thought
wishes.

The Supreme Being also imparted knowledge and warnings to 776
human beings through dreams and through his messenger, the 787
crow. The crow on account of his relationship to the Supreme
Being was a sort of sacred bird.[12] To illustrate the point the Boy [825]
told the following incident in the life of his father, Lame Bull.
"Lame Bull on one occasion was sitting out on a hill and no one
could get him to come back to camp. So some of his family got
one of Lame Bull's wives, The Boy's mother, to go out and tell
Lame Bull to come home right away as the camp was moving.
As Lame Bull saw her coming, a crow flew over to him and said,
'This person who is coming is going to tell you something that
is not true. Don't pay any attention to her.' Then the crow flew
away. When The Boy's mother came within hearing distance of
Lame Bull, the latter said to her: 'Don't say what you are going
to say. Turn back.' But she kept on coming and told him her
message, for which she got a scolding from him."

In general the Supreme Being was, as regards his interest in 776
human welfare, the reverse of an otiose deity. His interest was
a most active one.

Equally active was his interest in man's moral and social behavior. [888
He was pleased at such moral or social acts as respect 736]
and help to the aged and care of the orphans, and was offended
by grave breaches of the moral or social order. He bestowed

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[12] In 1948 The Boy explained: "The crow is not the kind you see around here now, but a raven,—a bird that is smaller and more streamlined than the crow. The crow here in the fields cry like they are wounded, but this other bird has a shrill but melodious call more like a human being." [R.F.]

776 reward and punishment for such human behavior exclusively or
almost exclusively in this life. At death the souls of all except
[775] murderers went to the same spirit habitat, not to the Supreme
Being.[13]

The extensive cultural and ethico-social activities of man towards the Supreme Being will form the subject of succeeding chapters. We may merely state here that the Supreme Being easily held the first place in cult, as compared with other beings, and that he bulked large in the Gros Ventre ethico-social conscience.

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174 That the foregoing concept of the Supreme Being was aboriginal with the Gros Ventres and not the result of borrowing from white sources seems clear beyond reasonable doubt from both the external and internal evidence.

First the external evidence. While the Gros Ventres have been
known in our literature since 1751, their contacts with the whites
before the middle of the last century were relatively slight. They
met traders and trappers and an occasional intermarriage with
[797] whites occurred, but active missionary work among the Gros
Ventres did not begin until 1884.[14]

Of about twenty different informants from whom we gathered our account of the Gros Ventre Supreme Being concept, most were older people, men and women, between the ages of 60 and 90 (in 1938-40) and all of them were positive, from their own memory of pre-missionary days and/or from what they had always heard from their parents or grandparents or other elders, that the belief was part of ancient native tradition and not one derived from the whites or from missionaries. For instance, Bull Head, about 80 years old in 1940, then the oldest living Gros Ventre man, stated that he had known about the Supreme Being as far back as he could remember. Coming Daylight, then about 85, and of

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[13] The older name for the abode of the dead was tsɔtci:tän (etymology unknown to informants) but described as "toward the sunset." The more
[821] common name was ba:snabe (big sand) which was described as a place "to the north." The Milky Way was called Ghost Trail according to another tradition. No non-human supernatural being was conceived of as in charge of the future abode or as rewarder or punisher of the dead for earthly deeds.

[14] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 23.

keen intelligence and memory, stated the same, adding that her 776
old grandmother was also familiar with the name of Ixtcibɔni:hɔhat 174
for him. Furthermore the names for the Supreme Being as believed in by the Gros Ventres are commonly used for him among [171]
the Arapaho. Finally, the Gros Ventre concept itself of the Supreme Being tallies well in its main elements with the concept that is of universal or almost universal occurrence among the Algonquian-speaking peoples, to whom the Gros Ventres belong linguistically and, in spite of their dominantly Plains culture, in not a few important respects culturally as well.

The internal evidence corroborates the external. The whole Gros Ventre complex is quite lacking in distinctive Christian elements,—such as prayer to the Supreme Being for forgiveness, reward and punishment by him in the future life, going to the Supreme Being after death, the Trinity, a supreme evil spirit, and so forth,—elements which would be emphasized in most evangelization by Catholic missionaries. On the contrary, the complex has a distinctly aboriginal coloring. Mastery, including mastery of life, is to the fore, with making or creating hazy or in the background. The Supreme Being's names, apart from that of Father, seem clearly native, not white. It is certainly most unlikely that missionaries would have invented a term such as Ixtcibɔni:hɔhat by compounding the name of the trickster, whose vulgar and obscene escapades were matters of such common knowledge.

Finally, the Supreme Being concept is tied intimately into the whole ritual of the Gros Ventre, a ritual which itself is obviously aboriginal, with only the faintest traces, if any, of Christian infiltration.

OTHER CULT BEINGS

Next to the Supreme Being, the supernatural being most frequently mentioned by our informants was Bha'a,[13] the storm ruler 776
or the thunderbird. He was also called, less commonly: etcitane:

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[13] Informants insisted on the aspiration in the name of the thunderbird, bha'a. Without aspiration the term ba'a means "it is red," and the term ba'ats, means "blood."

776 bātč, "he (who) has gristle (tendon from back of neck of animal) nose," and "black hawk," a certain very large black-feathered hawk known also locally as "bullet hawk" (*Buteo sp.?*). Another name for Bha'a was "old man four parts of the earth." Bha'a, the thunderbird, as was appropriate, had dark or black feathers, and was a swift flier; his bill and feet were of the same material as back tendon (see Blood-Clot Story, No. 11 in Appendix).

778 In the Gros Ventre Sacrifice Lodge, or "Sun dance," Bha'a
was represented near the top of the center pole as a bird, painted
776 black, with a buffalo tail fastened to his head as a sort of plume,
796 with a zigzag line descending from the bird almost to the ground
and ending in a fork, and with a bunch of branches stuck in the
[302] fork of the center pole of the lodge to represent Bha'a's nest. Each
of the dancers painted all over in white had a bird representing
Bha'a, painted in black with charcoal or paint on his upper center
breast, with black zigzag lines ending in a fork from the bird's
wings down each arm and forearm and from the bird's feet down
each thigh and leg to his ankle, with a black zigzag line forked
at each end across the forehead, and with a vertical red zigzag
line forked at the lower end extending down from each eye. The
[534] drum-head used in the Feathered Pipe rite had a red background
on which the Thunderbird was represented in blue, with a yellow
zigzag line on either side from the head to the wings. Bha'a entered
prominently into both the Sacrifice Lodge and the Feathered
Pipe rite.

776 Any large strange animal might in the olden days be called
825 Bha'a or even be looked upon as an embodiment or theophany
of Bha'a.

One supposed theophany over which the present day Gros Ventres laugh heartily, is recorded on the occasion of their seeing their first mule. The story as told with verve and intense amusement by The Boy was as follows:

"The Gros Ventres used to move around a great deal. Once a mule, the first one the Gros Ventres had ever seen, got lost somehow, struck the Gros Ventres' trail, came to their camp and stopped. A Gros Ventre crier spied it and came back to camp

announcing 'A something has come to camp. Come and look at it.' 776
Everybody turned out. They sized up the mule and considered 825
that it must be a Bha'a. They said: 'He must have come here for a purpose. Let's offer him things.' So they ran back, got things to offer him, returned bringing the children, and walked up and surrounded him. They prayed to the mule and laid one offering on him. Soon he was loaded down, he just stood there. After a while he brayed, at which all the people scattered and ran away. After they came to a stop, however, they decided: 'He must be pleased. That's why he made that noise. He will grant our request. We'll leave him here and move camp.' So they moved at once. But the mule followed them. Then they became afraid and ran away from him. This happened several times. At last they succeeded in hiding from him and losing him."

Bha'a's residence or nest, as described in the story of Blood- 776
Clot, was on the top of a high mountain, where he dwelt with his 821
mate and their two offspring, the young thunders (bha'a :niθan; -iθan, offspring, children). In the Blood-Clot story the sign of Bha'a's return to the nest was the appearance of a dark heavy cloud toward the sunset (west); of his mate's return, a white cloud in the west, and the arrival of each was marked by a blinding flash of lightning. The Thunderbird sometimes breaks wind and leaves a very bad odor. Two instances of this were recorded,—one when lightning struck Thick's house and left such a smell.

Bha'a had jurisdiction and control over storms, thunder and lightning, but as previously stated under the paramount rule and control of the Supreme Being, for whom he served as a sort of agent or subordinate, although with a considerable degree of freedom of action.

According to The Boy: "Bha'a has control of lightning and thunder, rules it, and releases it at will. He controls it, he is a sort of general manager; some one still higher controls Bha'a. While Bha'a rules the storm, he does so by a sort of delegated power; he has not the power himself.

"Bha'a's particular job is the storm, thunder and lightning. That is all he does. The Supreme Being is the ruler and uses Bha'a to run this part of the situation and manage it. Bha'a

776 executes the direction or will of the Supreme Being. He is the
821 medium or means by which the Supreme Being works. When a
big storm is about to break, a pipe is filled and the Supreme Being
[782] is prayed to in the direction from which the storm is coming and
is asked to spare the people during this storm, to direct Bha'a
not to kill them, to say a word or two to Bha'a himself not to
shoot around too close to camp. The people are afraid of Bha'a
since he does his job in such a violent way. Even though Bha'a
is held in high esteem and is considered an extraordinary being,
he is a creature [under control] of the Supreme Being."

776 Bha'a was closely associated with the Feathered Pipe, not at
all with the Flat Pipe.

Bha'a too entered into the Sacrifice Lodge ("Sun dance") as
the being who could cause rain and so bring a good season for
the food quest and bring coolness and shade in hot weather. While
supernatural power was not explicitly sought from Bha'a he
might occasionally on his own initiative have pity on a man and
give him power to be a great warrior and even to make storms.
[726] But on a war expedition the participants would pray to the
Supreme Being to be saved from wounds and death; not the
slightest thought of Bha'a would enter their minds unless they
were overtaken by a bad storm.

It may be added here that, while violent thunderstorms are
[165] common in Gros Ventre territory, deaths from lightning are not
frequent. The Boy could recall only three such deaths, occurring
in Gros Ventre territory during his experience, two on one occasion when he was a young boy and one on a later occasion around 1930.

The word Bha'a is used not only for the Thunderbird but enters into the term also for the water and earth monsters, bha'anbi:'iθän.[16]

The water monster,—or monsters as there appear to be a number of them, for they are reported from various large rivers, and springs where they bathe,—is usually envisioned as a huge, long, more or less serpent-shaped, being with pointed snout and tail, and with a horn or two horns in its forehead. It lives in its lodge under water, is occasionally seen, snatches bathers or swimmers, and carries them down to its underwater dwelling. 776 Drowned persons are supposed to go to or to be captured and held by the water monster in the after-life. [775] The people made offerings to the water monster or to its youngest offspring, the Last Child (see p. 15), when crossing rivers and on other occasions. [782]

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[16] The Boy explained in 1948: "The word bi:'iθän includes water bugs, crawling bugs, bugs of all kinds; but a snake is never called bi:'iθä, nor will a snake ever be called bha'a. Water monster, no manner how many horns he has, or however much he resemble a snake, is always called bha'anbi:'iθä." [R.F.]

There is a close connection between Bha'a the Thunderbird on the one hand, and these water and earth monsters on the other, but they are quite distinct. During storms the Thunderbird may strike a monster and carry it away as game food up into the clouds to its own mountain-top nest. There is no explicit note of hostility toward the monster.

The following story may illustrate ways of the water monster and the Thunderbird's habit of preying on the water or earth monsters.[17]

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When The Boy's father, Lame Bull, was a young man, in the 1840's, three young Gros Ventre younger than Lame Bull,—two of them relatives of Lame Bull,—had gone on a war party down toward the Yellowstone River. The Boy told the story: "They ran before the oncoming storm to take refuge among the rocks on a knoll. When they got within about 100-150 yards of the knoll, lightning struck. All three lost consciousness for a moment and, when they came to, were facing the opposite way. They turned around to go to the rocks on the knoll. As they did so, they saw a cloud right over the knoll and heard a noise as of a struggle going on in the clouds. The cloud started to rise and as it left the ground they could see something hanging down from the cloud, with its head in the cloud. As the cloud went up higher, they could see that the something was some kind of monster, with colors like a snake and striped. The cloud rose higher and higher, seeming to be taking a great monster out of the knoll. Finally the lower end of the monster came into view, struggling as it were. The struggling monster was immense, snake-like in build with a tapering tail. The cloud kept going straight up, the three young men waited until it had disappeared from sight up in the sky and wondered where it was taking the monster. Then they looked toward the spot out of which the monster had been pulled and they saw smoke and blue flame there and smelt a bad odor. They tried to coax themselves to walk up close to the spot and get a good look at it. But one of them said: 'Don't go. Something might happen to you. You can go if you wish. I'm going way round this spot.' He left and the others later joined him without going close to the spot."

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[17] Cf. also Kroeber, 1908, pp. 278-80.

Singer had heard the following story and knew the principal actor. "Some men on a war party went to a stream and noticed that the water was disturbed by something rolling,—a water monster with a horn in the middle of its head. All were scared except one, who said: 'I am scared of nothing. That is why I came on a war party.' He shot the monster right in the forehead and it whirled like a top. They took it out of the water. It had one horn. They thought it was the being who owned the stream. The others in the party thought this deed would shorten the brave killer's life. But he lived to be a real old man."

Cora mentioned the following incident: "My uncle on one occasion went out hunting for game in the Sweet Grass Hills. A violent storm arose and while he was loading the meat on the horses, lightning struck close by. The people say that the thunder pulls big 'bugs' called thunder bugs out of the earth or water. My uncle saw this bug as it came out and went wriggling up and up, until finally he could not see it any longer. You can see the holes in the earth from which the thunder bugs come."

Coming Daylight told of her own experience: "After a storm, the people used to go out and look for traces and I once saw one of these ditches. The thunder is supposed to be some kind of a big bird and it goes way up on top of the highest peak to eat these bugs it pulls out of the ground. The old-timers saw one place where the thunderbird had eaten one of these 'worms' and there was nothing but the bones of a great big 'bug' lying there [fossil vertebrate remains?]."

"A water monster was once seen in the Milk River by a small

boy. He was so scared, he went insane and died in a few days," 776
according to The Boy. 539

One story we gathered is about a very big rattlesnake, "as big as a person," big enough to eat a human being and leave only the skeleton. It had a large shining horn. Where it traveled it made a great bare trail like a modern road. It was horned, but was not of the water or earth monster "species." It was shot dead by a young man whom it had molested with murderous design while he was out in the hills crying and sleeping to obtain supernatural power.

In one story, the following, told by Singer, it is not clear whether there is question of a gigantic horned snake or of an earth monster proper.

"Near the head of Snake Butte there is a big cleft which runs [823]
all the way to the bottom. The cleft is said to have been made by lightning striking there. My husband Ax Handle [Assiniboine] was there and looked. He thought he saw something and looked again. It was a great big snake with a horn on the top of its head. He was scared and ran away."

A somewhat conspicuous, though very human, role in Gros 776
Ventre ritual and thought was played by the Last Child, ida:sθa, (itasé, "lastly," itasünna, "last;" -tha, "child" [Sifton]; apparently meaning "last child born in a family"). He was the little water snake, offspring of the water monster who figured in the story of He-who-starved-to-death (see No. 5 in Appendix). The Last Child had power in water, sharing to an undefined subordinate degree in the power of his father, the water monster, who was ruler under the water. He, alone or together with his father, was prayed 776
to or given offerings, when the Gros Ventres had to cross rivers 782
or lakes or when they swam or bathed in rivers or pools, lest they [484]
drown or be snatched down by the water monster. Early in World War II when a batch of Gros Ventre recruits was about to leave for overseas duty in the Pacific he was prayed to to protect them in crossing the ocean. In praying with a pipe, the Gros Ventres always held it up first to the Supreme Being, but lastly down to the Last Child. In food offerings, the Last Child was invited, 776
last in order, to partake. In the sweat lodge he was mentioned

776 but not invited to sweat, as he was not considered important enough. In general, while he very frequently enters into ritual, he always enters as the last and least. The water monster was rather feared, but the Last Child was conceived as benevolent and kindly disposed, and both in and outside of ritual observances ran a marked undercurrent of indulgent affectionate amusement, such as the adult male might have toward a liked small child, especially where the Last Child was ritually or otherwise associated with the Supreme Being. The Boy said: "The Gros Ventres all but laugh when the pipe is offered to the Last Child. He suggests something sort of funny to them, while they have only deep reverence for the Supreme Being." As Tom Main put it: "The Last Child [comparatively] does not amount to much. He is [782] always mentioned last [in prayers], but he gets the benefit of tobacco put in the ground [when medicinal herbs are gathered] and food put there [in food offerings]. As far back as I can remember, the people used to laugh when the Last Child was mentioned, but nevertheless he was included in rites." This by no means signifies however that he was laughed *at* or made fun of. The Last Child was, it would seem, a sort of intercessor with his father, to temper the latter's rather maleficent and predatory tendencies.

The Last Child was also associated in some manner with the earth or perhaps with the earth monster(s), as food and offerings [782] were put into the ground for him,[18] but the nature of the relationship is not clear. One statement given earlier, that he had a kind of keepership of the earth, looked after it, saw that the grass and trees grew, that the rivers flowed, and so forth, while not contradicted, was not confirmed, by later evidence.

776-823 Regarding the earth, that is, the land or ground, rather than the terrestrial globe as such, there appear to have been differences in ritual usage and perhaps in belief. Some of the Gros Ventres did not mention earth in their prayers. Others habitually did so, naming in order the Supreme Being, the sun, earth, and the Last

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[18] In 1948 The Boy added: "Nowadays when they smoke, they offer him one too; and also with whiskey, they spill a little on the ground and say: 'Ida :sθa for a drink.'" [R.F.]

Child, and made offering of tobacco and food to earth. Al Chandler explained: "The earth is put in because that is where your living is. You get everything from the earth, fruit, animals, everything to live on, and get everything you eat from there," although ultimately it is the Supreme Being who owns and gives everything. We got one passing casual reference to "mother earth" by Mary Ereaux, and another by Tom Main to earth as being a "spirit" and having a "special keeper," but obtained no later confirmation of or detailed information on these points. In general, earth seems to have played a quite subordinate role in Gros Ventre religious thought and ritual. 776 823

The sun was appreciably more prominent, ranking according to some informants next to the Supreme Being, and mentioned as "The One Traveling," or "Passing or Traveling Man" immediately after him in prayers. Another current seems to have assigned a much lower relative rank to the sun, and mentioned sun and moon together, as "Those-who-follow-each-other," and after the Supreme Being and the Four Holy Old Men. In any case the sun was in no sense identified with the Supreme Being, but was his property, work and servant, far below him in dignity, and had not anything like the religious predominance it had in such tribes as the neighboring Blackfoot. The sun did not enter at all into the so-called "Sun Dance" of the Gros Ventres, nor into the Feathered Pipe rite. Prayers and food were offered to the sun, and the sun was invited to sweat in the sweat lodge rite along with but subordinately to the Supreme Being. Individuals would offer a finger joint or bits of their flesh to the sun on such occasions as the grave illness of a relative. While the sun "sees everything, that's why the Supreme Being put it there," the Supreme Being, not the sun, was appealed to as witness in oaths; the widespread American Indian oath formula, "The sun sees me," was not used. 776 821 [755] [695]

The sun and moon were, according to myth, brothers from the same mother, but were never human beings proper, though they married, the one a frog woman and the other a human female. According to one story, the sun regularly appeared in battle as a man riding a white horse who scared and helped either the Gros [773] 776 821 539

776 Ventres or the enemy. According to another, the sun on one
821 occasion delivered seven Gros Ventre men, to be killed by the
[539] Crow, into the hands of a Gros Ventre woman captured by the
Crow, so the woman claimed. Apart from the incidental inclusion of the moon, bracketed with the sun, in prayers and in invitations to sweat as above stated, there was no specific independent moon cult and in no case, according to our informants, were sacrifices ever made to the moon. Nor, so far as we could discover, was there any star cult, though the stars, or some of them such as those constituting the Great Dipper, the Pleiades, the Bear were seemingly looked upon as in some sense "spirits" or personal beings. In the archaic era, before the flood and Ni:hɔhat, people used to go in the morning to get fire from the morning star, "the cross," just as in modern times the old people
[372] used to go in the morning to get a live coal from a neighbor's hearth instead of using matches. The morning star served also as a "clock." When people were planning to get up unusually
[805] early in the morning they would be guided by its position in the heavens. Someone in the lodge would be told: "Go out and see if the cross is up yet."

776 Among the beings involved in prayers and invited to sweat, after the Supreme Being, were the "Four Old Men," currently referred to by English-speaking Gros Ventres as the "Four Holy Old Men." According to Singer and Coming Daylight there were also, it appears, "Four Old Women," but this statement was not independently confirmed by other informants.

Very little is known about these Four Old Men. The Boy had more than once asked his father about them, but Lame Bull could only say that the Gros Ventres were taught by Ni:hɔhat to call on them in praying and sweating but that the people did not know who they are. They lived in the very beginning of things, but whether before or after the flood, is not quite clear. They were
776 not human beings. Gros Ventre belief does not associate them with the four winds or cardinal directions, but, vaguely, with the
801 sacred number four, the four "ridges" or stages of full human life, and the four great floods or other great catastrophes or revolutions, of which the first was the primeval flood, that are to occur,

according to one tradition, in the career of humanity. Some 776
thought World War II was one of these four. The Gros Ventres 801
do not recognize any beings connected or identified with the four [823]
winds or four cardinal directions.

Sometimes another being "Broken Knife" was appealed to 776
in prayers. Little too, is known of him, except that he was, some 782
time in the distant past, a renowned Keeper of the Flat Pipe. According to Al Chandler, Broken Knife was the name of the young man who was first given the Feathered Pipe. (For details, No. 6d in Appendix.) He was asked to pray for the supplicants, just as it was customary for the people to ask living pipe keepers or ex-keepers to pray and intercede for them, "much as Catholics ask the saints to intercede for them."

Much more is known of He-Who-Starved-To-Death who is associated with the Flat Pipe rite. 776 He was a human being, a Pipe child, second son of a certain keeper of the Flat Pipe in the days when the Gros Ventres dwelt in a land of plenty. It was he who in the course of his adventures encountered and befriended the Last Child, offspring of the water monster, and who on his return home taught the people to pray to the Last Child, and introduced three songs into the Flat Pipe rite. He was also the man who first brought horses to the Gros Ventres. His name was given him by the water monster. (For details see No. 5 in Appendix.) In one Flat Pipe rite he was mentioned in prayers, and in the sweat lodge was invited to sweat.

Well known too is He-who-dreams-of-Bha'a, likewise a human being and a Pipe child, the son of the couple who were first given the Feathered Pipe by Bha'a, and who lived when the Gros Ventres had already gotten horses and had reached their historic habitat, but before the advent of the whites. He got power from Bha'a to be a great warrior, and he gave himself his name. (For details see No. 7 in Appendix.) While closely associated with the Feathered Pipe, he was not, so far as we could discover, prayed to.

In general, lesser beings that had no human body were called tciya:tɔ̈wu:nitä (sing., lit., "false person": tciyattawu, false [Sifton], initä, human being). This category included such minor

776 beings as Little Spirit and ghosts, but not such major ones as the Supreme Being and Bha'a.

The following story, as told by The Boy, gives nearly all that
224 is known about Little Spirit, etcibətä :t (êtc,sä, it is little, bettêtô,
776 spirit [Sifton]).

"Long ago, how far back I do not know, Little Spirit made himself the guardian spirit helper of a certain man, saying: 'Whenever there is going to be a famine, call me.' 'What are you?' the man asked, 'Where do you come from?' 'I am Little Spirit, I am from the western wind.' The man who had Little Spirit never called him except when game was scarce and there was danger of famine among the people. Then he would call Little Spirit who would tell them where game was. When this man was dying, he said to the people: 'Whenever you go out hunting, pray to Little Spirit to show you where game is and when you have killed game and gutted it, take a piece of the liver and some of the fat, put in on the west side of the game killed, and say: "Here, Little Spirit, is liver and fat for you."' It was just that one man of long ago, no other, who had Little Spirit as a personal helper. When Little Spirit came, he came as a little whirlwind."[19]

Little Spirit was, in accordance with this man's instruction, ordinarily appealed to by the Gros Ventres for success in hunting particularly at times when game was hard to get, and the abovementioned first fruits sacrifice of liver and fat made to him after game was killed. He was not appealed to on any other occasion.

776 At a number of places in and around Gros Ventres territory are
cliffs with incised pictographs on them made by a certain class
[172] of "false persons" called tciya :tsine :n "ghost men" or "little men."
They were never seen but according to Singer were dwarfish, about 3 feet tall. The Gros Ventres distinguish clearly between such pictographs made by these beings on the one hand and on the other those made by Indians or else tracks of animals in flat rocks. The first are temporary, and change from time to time; the other two kinds are permanent. Gros Ventres have tried to get

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[114] [19] He did not, however, come into the shaking tent as the ghost helper did. The statement by Cooper, 1940, based on 1939 field notes, was an error corrected 1940 in the field.

power from the "ghost men" by sleeping near their pictographs, 776
but never with any success. One young man, however, once without
quest got power in childbirth cases from a boss of little
children who appear to him in a dream, and Singer thought these
"little children" were "ghost men," but the identification is doubtful.
The only message they ever got from the "ghost men" was a
request or demand that the Gros Ventres go away at once as they
smelt bad or made the place smell bad. On war parties or other [721
occasions, offerings were made at the pictograph cliff to the
"ghost men," who would then during the night make new picto- 782]
graphs on the morrow from which the future in the form of good
or bad fortune could be easily foreseen by the members of the
party.[29]

Supernatural power was gotten either by quest or otherwise 776
from ghosts or, as more commonly, from non-human beings, such 787
as mountains (or the spirit who inhabited or owned the moun- 778
tains), rocks, mammals (bear, wolf, weasel, mink, coyote, rat,
prairie dog and others), birds (crow, prairie chicken), snakes,
spiders and so forth. "These lesser beings, while ranking a little above human beings and possessing certain superhuman powers, were under the leadership and control of the Supreme Being, from whom they had received such powers to be imparted in turn to human beings. Like Bha'a, they were, so to speak, delegated agents and underlings of the Supreme Being, put by him in charge of "the details of the whole situation," as The Boy expressed it. The powers so imparted were of many kinds, to cure, to poison or otherwise harm, to foretell, to become a great warrior, to acquire wealth, to succeed in love and gambling, et cetera, as will be described in detail later.

NON-CULT BEINGS

So much for the beings to whom cult was rendered in the form 776
of prayer or sacrifice. We shall now describe the supernatural beings,—human, "humanoid" and non-human,—to whom no cult was rendered but who entered in one form or other into ritual

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[29] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 93.

776 or who were in some manner actively helpful or harmful in modern times to the Gros Ventres. The chief beings of this second category are: Ni:həhat, Earthmaker, ghosts and owls, Atsa:, the Little People.

The name of the trickster and culture hero, Ni:həhat, has already been dealt with in the section on the Supreme Being. Ni:həhat was also referred to sometimes as "our grandfather." He had a human body but no detailed description of his appearance is current. He had a wife and children. No one knows how he came into existence. He lived before the flood and it is to this antediluvian period that his colorful exploits, largely Rabelaisian, are ascribed.

There is considerable uncertainty and speculation regarding the respective roles of Ni:həhat and Earthmaker in the origin of human beings or of the Gros Ventres, and of Gros Ventre religion, especially the Flat Pipe rite. We shall here give the account from the Ni:həhat tradition, and later that from the Earthmaker one, without attempting a complete reconciliation, which does not seem possible from the available evidence.

773 According to the Ni:həhat folktale cycle, human beings lived
before the flood, as is clear from the trickster's exploits.[21] Accord-
776 ing to the Ni:həhat origin story, it was he who obtained from a man and woman, of whose origin nothing is known, the magic bladder, and who liberated from the bladder the already existing human beings, the ancestors of the Gros Ventres. Still other human beings existed than the ones who killed the trickster and who in turn were completely exterminated by the liberated people. Ni:həhat taught these ancestors to pray to the Supreme Being. He also instructed them in the sweat lodge ritual, and so in at least this element of the Flat Pipe rite, and also in the rite of sacrificing bits of their flesh. He likewise taught the liberated bladder people the art of war. (See No. 1 in Appendix for full story.)

He was killed and came to life again. After this he disappeared, and no one knows what became of him. The Boy personally wonders whether it was Ni:həhat himself who was Earthmaker and who was floating on the raft with the Flat Pipe, whether he may then have gone to the whites and taught them, too, how to pray; but all this he considers speculation only. 776 [773]

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[21] Cf. Kroeber, 1907, pp. 59-75.

It should be emphasized that as previously noted, no sacrifices or prayers were ever offered by the Gros Ventres to Ni :həhat himself, nor, it may be here added, to Earthmaker. The Boy once said to his father, Lame Bull: "You talk so much about Ni :həhat. He was a superhuman. He should have been prayed to." "No," Lame Bull replied, "he never told the people to pray to him, but told them to pray to the Supreme Being. He was a man and not worthy to be prayed to." [782]

Earthmaker was the human being, apparently a or the primeval keeper of the Flat Pipe, who knowing the earth was to be covered with water made a raft of logs on which he and the Flat Pipe floated during the great flood.[22] (See full story, No. 3 in Appendix.) Where he came from is unknown. Landing on a mountain top he there made dry land (not *the* earth, the terrestrial globe as such which already existed), and also made a man and woman. He gave the Flat Pipe into the keeping of the man he had made, and taught him the Flat Pipe rite, instructed him how to carry out the rite and to plant tobacco, and told the people how to worship the Supreme Being. The Flat Pipe rite has been known ever since that time. Earthmaker is mentioned only in the Flat Pipe rite. After giving the pipe and the above instructions, he disappeared, and what became of him, whether he died or not, is not known. 776 773

Ghosts were called tsë :k. Another name for ghosts was byi'te :' a word that "gives the impression like a hollow-eyed bleached-out skull." An occasional ancestral ghost became the guardian helper of a surviving relative.[23] Gambling power might also be gotten from a ghost. Most ghosts were in their own future abode and did not have any contact at all with the living. In general, apart 774 775

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[22] He was not floating in the Pipe bowl; this is the Arapaho version.

[23] In 1948 The Boy explained: "Tciya :təwu :nitän (see p. 19) are not tsë :k; tsë :k is the opposite of everything good—you can cuss by calling someone tsë :k. Byi'te :' is even worse. The ancestral ghost is tsätsuwa'a, not tsë :k. Shadow, soul, spirit, echo is bətäto :u. [R.F.] [578]

In general, apart
774 from the ghost helper and gambling power complexes, to be
775 described later, no cult of ghosts existed, and no prayers or food
[769] or other offerings were made to them. Ghosts of those who had committed unjustified murder, as defined by the Gros Ventre code, did not go where the other souls went, but stayed where their bodies lay or wandered around and "bothered" the living.
[753] If a person suffered a stroke, a ghost, apparently of a murderer, was thought to have caused it and to have twisted the victim's face or mouth and pulled the eyelid down.

Ghosts "bothered" the living in less serious ways, appearing
775 in the shadow and disappearing, whistling, playing tricks, in more
539 recent times rapping on windows, and so forth. The two following stories, told by The Boy in light vein and laughingly, illustrate ghostly ways.

"A war party of brave Gros Ventres started out.[24] Toward evening they came to a timbered stream and made a lodge of willows near a good-sized tree, not knowing that a couple had been buried there. After a good meal, they were singing and enjoying themselves, when they heard someone hollering far off. The hollering kept coming closer and closer to their camp until it got very near. One of the men said: 'We had better start up a fire.' Before anyone got up to fetch wood, wood began being thrown into the tepee. This kept up until the tepee was so loaded up with wood that they were crowded out. They then started to carry the wood out of the tepee. One man remarked: 'I never heard of a ghost killing anybody.' Then they heard the ghost laughing a little distance off. One of the men shot toward the spot from which the laughing was coming, but the ghost laughed all the more. All the men then got back inside the tepee, and one of them said: 'I'll get some wood and we'll make some tea.' A good fire was started, and the old fellows prayed with the pipe. The ghost was meanwhile moving the embers away to keep the fire from burning. Before the snow was fetched to be melted, snow fell from the open center top of the tepee and put the fire out. At this they got scared and said: 'Let's move from here.'

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[24] In 1948 The Boy remarked that this happened in Lame Bull's life time; and that the ghost referred to in the story is the kind known as tsĕ:k. [R.F.]

All of them, bunched close together, ran away, and they could 775 hear the ghost laughing. They shot at it but it laughed all the more. When they got a good distance from their camping spot, 539 they could still hear the ghost laughing behind them, and it only quit bothering them when they got far away. Whenever a war party came close to this spot, it would be bothered by that ghost, whose name was 'Hole-through-his-penis.' So the Gros Ventres quit camping there."

The second illustration was given as follows: "On one occasion, during the lifetime of Lame Bull (The Boy's father), a number of Gros Ventres went off on a war party and camped at an old abandoned winter camp on the Missouri River. They made a shelter frame of old tent and travois poles. One of the men went out some distance, gathered wood and lit a fire and started to cook meat. The night was very dark. Something started throwing sticks at him every now and then. He thought to himself: 'My friends are trying to test my courage,' and paid no attention. The sticks began coming too frequently. He said to them: 'You better quit throwing at me. You might hurt me. You can't scare me.' They said: 'We're not throwing at you.' The sticks came faster. So he ran back to the shelter where the others were, rushed in and hid behind the leader of the war party. They all got scared then and piled up in a struggling heap close to the leader until he was pinned under them. 'Let me up,' he said, 'I'll see what is scaring you and deal with that thing.' The ghost poked in a cross piece of a travois and scattered their fire. While still piled up in a heap they heard a voice laughing outside and seeming to go away. They at last got straightened out and fixed up the fire, but still could hear the ghost laughing. One of the men, Chief Grass, said: 'I'm going to kill that ghost.' He then rolled some [778] buffalo hair around the head of an arrow, singed it a little and spat on it,—his way, it was believed, of using his power. He then shot the arrow in the direction where the laughing could still be heard. The voice was at once silenced, and they were not bothered any more that night. 'I believe I killed that ghost.' Chief Grass said, 'at daylight, I'll look around.' The next morning they looked around and found a bleached human skull with the arrow of

775 [539] Chief Grass in one of the eye sockets. So it was always thought that he had killed that ghost."

There was a considerable fear of these bad ghosts who "bothered" or even seriously harmed human beings. Certain other ghosts were merely "earthbound," that is, they lingered around or came back because they were fond of their belongings—clothing, footwear, and so forth—which were buried with them. Such earthbound ghosts did no harm to human beings and were not supposed to be feared.[28]

Singer, then married to Crooked Arm, told of an occasion on which she ran away from her home. She wandered around at random and happened to stop at the spot where her sister was buried, and heard a voice [presumably her sister's] saying: "Just lie quiet. They are all looking for you." She did so, apparently without fear.

One informant, Al Chandler, narrated certain experiences of his early childhood and boyhood that suggest a somewhat deviant attitude toward ghosts. When he was about four years old, his mother died, and the morning after her burial he went to the grave and lay there, falling into a profound sleep. Not long after this, when his uncle died, and the body was laid on a bed in a lodge some distance off, he went to the lodge and crept under the blanket covering the body and went to sleep. Another time, while still very young, he got lost and around dark found himself at a place where there were a number of old graves. He lay down and slept the night there. These incidents were early childhood ones, when he hardly realized the meaning of death. At a later age, during his boyhood, everybody was afraid to go along a certain bit of woodland lest the ghosts bother them. Al wanted to find out for himself. So against advice of his father, and feeling a little "spooky," one night just after midnight he went through the stretch of brush and as he did so heard a sound behind him as of someone dragging a robe over gravel. Mustering up his courage he turned around quickly and saw a big old owl dragging its
[825] feathers and scarcely able to fly. When he got back home, he told his venture, and the old man [his father] laughed and said: "Owls

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[28] For illustration, see Flannery, 1953, p. 203.

sure will do that; they bother people and mock you when you 775 talk or laugh." After that there was no ghost in that piece of brush.

On another occasion, Al was coming back on horseback with [825] a group after a hand game. In a gap through which their route would take them, the others saw a yellow or blue light, like a lamp in the dark, moving this way and that. But Al could see nothing. The others went home by a roundabout way, but Al went alone through the gap, saw nothing, and met the others farther on.

Many, though not all, ghosts had the habit of whistling, and some talked in a whistling language.

Ghosts were apt to appear as owls or to hoot like owls, both in the shaking tent rite, to be described later, and on other occasions as illustrated in the following story which had been told The Boy by his father, Lame Bull.

"Lame Bull went on a war expedition. Seven Sioux were killed. Their bodies were left laying where the killing took place. A few years later Lame Bull and some comrades came near this [825] place. As they reached it, seven owls flew from it. The owls did not fly away but just milled around the spot. They were the seven Sioux turned into owls."

Children used to be told: "If you do not obey, the owls will 825 catch you." If owls alighted on a lodge or house or hooted around 775 very near on bush, tree or hill, this presaged the death of some one. Owls also gave warnings.[26] In these instances however we got no evidence that the owls were conceived of as ghosts.

Besides the ghosts there were other bad spirits, who "shot" 776 people by projecting some small object into the body of a person 753 and so causing illness.[27] This belief, we were told, was very widespread but we did not obtain many details regarding it. The following incident, narrated by Coming Daylight, may serve as illustration.

On one occasion when Coming Daylight was living where Fort Belknap now is and when her daughter was still a sack baby, the latter would not quit screaming. She would hold her head to one side and would not nurse, and they could not satisfy her with

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[26] An example is given in Flannery, 1953, p. 93.

[27] Very probably connected with practice of witchcraft. [R.F.]

776 753 anything. So Coming Daylight took her infant to her aunt who was a kind of "spiritualist" (one having a ghost helper). The aunt took the baby in her arms and told Coming Daylight: "You get me a piece of charcoal." The aunt took the charcoal and rubbed it on the baby's neck at the back, bent over as if she were going to bite the infant, drew out (apparently by sucking) a little sliver from the baby's neck, and said: "This is what caused her to have a stiff neck." They said a spirit had shot her, although they did not have the baby outside when this happened to her. You were not supposed to take an infant outside in the dark without covering its head. Actually Coming Daylight's infant was inside the tent during the night and they heard something hit a lodge pole and it seemed to frighten the baby, who continued to cry until the aunt removed the sliver.

[158] 751 776 Mental abnormality could also be caused by such bad spirits, ghostly or other, whether by "shooting" the victim or getting into him is not known. To keep the bad spirits at bay, a stick, with its tip blackened with "nicotine," was left near a baby whenever the baby had to be left alone. Whenever adults went out in the dark, they picked up and carried a stick, of any kind; it was believed that the spirits were afraid of the sticks and would not come near. Beyond such protective observances there appears to have been no cult proper of these bad spirits in the way of propitiatory prayers or offerings.

753 776 [731] 776 Much, though not all sickness was ascribed to a malevolent being called Atsa:. When illness recently took off a mother and child in a family, the people said, "Atsa: has visited so-and-so's family." Atsa: did not himself put sickness-causing objects in his victims' bodies, but he was responsible indirectly for other kinds of illness, that is, he had something to do with them. To him were attributed particularly epidemics, especially smallpox, chicken pox and measles. He was an ugly, hideous being, unkempt, with scaly skin and bushy hair who never washed his face. He was thin and starved-looking and his nails were long. He was thoroughly disliked. No food or pipe was ever offered to him. When serious sickness visited the camp, the Supreme Being was prayed to: "Take Atsa: away. He is causing a lot of trouble." Atsa: was

"nothing compared to the Supreme Being." At an eclipse of the 776
sun the Gros Ventres were much afraid; for they thought that the
sun was covering himself and that Atsa: would come around. To 776
ward him off on the occasion of a solar eclipse, the Gros Ventres 821
in recent times would load their guns and shoot up in the air, and
so make so much noise that he would be scared away. Then they
would all laugh, feeling that they had gotten the best of him.
Atsa: also functioned as a bugaboo. When Thomas Main was a
boy his parents used to tell him: "If you don't behave, Atsa: will 539
get you." Atsa: was afraid of skunks, as the Gros Ventres of 731
several generations ago learned from the following incident,
related by The Boy.[28] 776

"In the days of Gopher and Prairie Dog Old Man, Atsa: declared war. At that time the Gros Ventres were very numerous. There were only twelve bands but they were so big and there were so many people that when the children played around they would get lost and could not find their way home. When the crier walked around and made his announcements, after only one circle around the camp he was hoarse and was tired from walking. A large part of Gros Ventres went off on a war raid to the east to fight the Shoshoni, Assiniboine and Sioux. They got a little below the confluence of the Milk and Missouri Rivers, and saw two corpses wrapped in good blankets up in a tree. So they cut the bundles loose and dropped the bodies to the ground. The blankets, of white-man make, were a novelty to the Gros Ventres at the time. The men unwrapped the blankets and cut them up for leggings.

"That same night one of the Gros Ventres took ill. As the night wore on he got worse and worse. The men began to suspect: 'These two must have died of smallpox.' The sick man died after sun-up in the morning. They became panic-stricken. 'Sure enough,' they said, 'that's smallpox.' They decided to rush back to the main camp.

"On the way back every night one or more men died. Only a few got back alive. Most of the party died on the way back. When

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[28] The incident probably is part of the tradition of the smallpox epidemic of 1780. Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 34.

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the survivors reached home and told their story, the people were excited. The old people said: 'That is a bad sickness. It all but kills off the tribe once it starts.' The criers announced to the people: 'Scatter in all directions. That is the only way to combat this sickness.' So the bands scattered in all directions. A lot of the people died, some even before camp was broken.

"One band went up Milk River. One man of this band who had a big family studied what he should do. He decided to go off secretly from his band. He had plenty of meat, as it was in the fall. So he sneaked away unnoticed with his family, went up the Milk River looking for the thickest patch of brush and trees he could find, and there pitched his camp. The next spring, the survivors of this man's band, which had wintered around the Sweet Grass Hills, decided that the sickness was over, and that Atsa: must be in a good humor again and had left them. The survivors went looking for the rest of the Gros Ventres, so they packed up and left their camp, where in many lodges all the inmates were dead. They made their way toward the place where the Marias and Teton Rivers empty into the Missouri. As they went along they found some whole camps wiped out by smallpox, other camps with just a few lodges with some survivors. These survivors would then join them. At last they reached the Marias and decided to camp there and send scouts around to look for the other survivors.

"A group of young men acting as scouts went down the river to its confluence with the Missouri and ran onto a camp where they saw someone walking around in front of a lodge. As soon as this person saw them he disappeared. They approached and looked into the lodge, but could at first see only a bunch of dead bodies in it, though the fire was burning. They then went in to investigate and found a small boy and small girl there, each living with the dead body of his and her mother. The boy and girl fought and bit like animals not to be taken away. The young men saw the places where the boy and girl had been sleeping beside the bodies of the dead mothers. They saw also a bear that lived in this lodge and fed on the corpses. They looked in other lodges and found that the bear must have lived there too on the dead bodies. It had not eaten of the supply of meat which was still untouched.

"The young men then took the boy and girl back to camp where 539
some families took them and tamed them down. The young men 731
kept scouting for survivors along the Missouri River and on both
sides of the Bear Paw Mountains but could find none. All the 776
living then moved to the north end of the Bear Paws and camped. They decided to stay there and wait. Most of the Gros Ventre camps had been entirely wiped out. The survivors felt bad about it, but there was plenty to eat. They had taken along with them the meat supplies of the deceased victims. It was now far along in spring and they thought the danger was over.

"The man who had spent the winter in the thick timber now decided to move around and look for his people. He started toward Marias River and found the other Gros Ventre survivors' camp north of the Bear Paws. The man, his wives and all their children had come through the epidemic without sickness. The people asked the father: 'How did you escape getting sick?' He replied: 'Just by accident. I happened to kill a skunk, to windward of our camp, and just left the carcass at the spot, as I had no use for it. We were forced to smell it. In time we all got used to the stench. In the timber we felt safe from enemies and we dared not go far from camp. So we stayed there in spite of the skunk. But we were all the time worried lest the children or myself should die. As time went on and no one got sick, I laid our good fortune to the skunk carcass. I thought that Atsa: must be afraid of skunks. So I started to kill as many as I could and I hung them around in every direction, so that no matter from what quarter the wind blew we always had skunk smell. I honestly believe skunks are too much for him.' The people agreed with him, for he proved his belief by the fact that he and all his family had come back safe. Since then the Gros Ventres have known that Atsa: is afraid of skunks."[29]

Both giants and dwarfs were believed to exist. The giants were 776
as tall as trees. When one of these got a buffalo he would stick it on his belt just as the Indian did with rabbits. The giants were

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[29] The Gros Ventres know that the Cree of the Ft. Belknap area use skunk fluid for many medical purposes; the Gros Ventres however do not. In Gros Ventres lore the animal kingdom calls the skunk "Chief Stripe."

not cannibals; the dwarfs or little people were. Of the latter, who were distinct from the dwarfish pictograph beings previously mentioned, the Gros Ventres were afraid, for these dwarfs in spite of their small size were very powerful. They were not "false persons," but had bodies and lived on earth. The Gros Ventres when traveling around or out hunting were always on the watch for them; for the dwarfs, while very stupid, were very strong physically, could not be killed,[10] and were fast runners. Once they sighted a man there was no escaping them. Some of their characteristics are illustrated in a folk tale. (See No. 9 in Appendix.)

Besides the beings to whom some sort of cult was rendered or who at least were in modern times actively helpful or harmful in some manner to the living Gros Ventres, there were a number of others to whom no cult was rendered and who had only in the past been helpful or harmful. These last, such as Blood-Clot and Found-in-the-Grass, belong purely to the realm of folklore. Few myths and tales of this type were volunteered by our informants but two are given in the Appendix (Nos. 10 and 11). We made no attempt, however, to record the folklore as such.

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[10] In 1948 The Boy explained: "In one way these little fellows were not so stupid after all, because they left their hearts at home in their lodges when they went off and so they were hard to kill. You should add, too, that they were all left-handed." [R.F.]

CHAPTER II

THE FLAT PIPE

KEEPERSHIP

The Flat Pipe was ordinarily in the custody of an official keeper called nätcä :ta' (nätcä, chief) with his head wife as co-keeper, nä :tciθä (chief woman) and one of their young children as pipe child, nätcəta :niθə'. 793 [778]

In olden times before the coming of the whites according to the tradition as handed down to The Boy and Thick, the Flat Pipe was hereditary in one of the families or bands—which one is unknown. The man and wife chosen, from within the family or band, to be keeper and co-keeper were usually a couple in the prime of life, not an old man married to a young woman or an old woman married to a very young man. A couple in the prime of life were chosen so that, even though they already had children, they could still have more. For it was the tribal law that they should designate out of their children, a boy or girl, born after they had entered upon their keepership to remain with them and to succeed to the keepership should both the keeper and his wife die by accident or sickness. Nearly always they designated a boy, rarely a girl, as the keeper had ordinarily to be a man. The Boy and Thick thought that this system of hereditary keepership came to an end long ago as a result perhaps of the fact that a keeper might have had no children or children died off, or the complete dying out of the family or band in which the Pipe was then hereditary. 793 428

In historic times, that is, as far back as definite tribal memory goes, non-hereditary succession has prevailed. It took two forms, elective and volunteer. In the first case, the initiative was taken by others than the prospective keeper; in the second, by the prospective keeper himself. To become an official keeper a man had to be formally inaugurated with a rite which will be described later. In certain emergencies the Pipe was temporarily without 793

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

793 such an official keeper and was merely held by someone for the time being.

From data supplied mostly by The Boy and Coming Daylight, it is possible to trace the fortunes of the Flat Pipe during the last hundred years. Somewhere about 1850 the Flat Pipe keeper was Deer, who was succeeded by "Bear-going-along-side-of-hill," from whom it was ceremonially transferred about 1860-65 to The Boy's father, Lame Bull. One or two of Lame Bull's successors died before completing the customary four-year term, and Lame Bull took the Pipe back. About 1873-75 it was ritually transferred to Crow Bull, Coming Daylight's mother's brother and a good friend of Lame Bull, as a result of a vow made by Crow Bull to take the keepership if the wife, who had been captured by the Piegan, should get back safely to him, which she did.

Coming Daylight gave the story as follows:

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727 "In the 1869 battle between the Gros Ventres and the Piegan, a wife of my uncle, Crow Bull, was captured by the Piegan. After some time the man who captured her and who had taken her as wife saw her crying and asked her: 'Why are you crying?' She replied: 'I am lonesome for my children.' She had borne no children during her stay with the Piegan. So he told her: 'All right. I am a man, a real chief. I will let you go back to your children. But it would be dangerous for you to go on horseback. You must walk.'

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[582] "So on the sly he fixed up a big traveling dog to pack food and she made moccasins for the journey. He told her which way to go, this is, by way of Fort Benton where there were some Piegan and Gros Ventre women married to whites. He also told her she must travel by night lest the Piegan capture her again, and he accompanied her quite a way on her journey.

"After two days on the road, traveling by night and hiding in the day, she reached Fort Benton safely just at daybreak on the third. When she got there she did not know where to go. She saw someone emptying water, who looked like an Indian woman, so she went up to her. The woman said: 'Oh, where did you come from?' 'I came from the Piegan,' she replied, 'my Piegan husband there let me go.' The woman said: 'After you have eaten I will

take you to a camp of Gros Ventres.' 'Who are they?' she asked, 793
'What is their name?' The woman told her: 'A little short man called Warrior Man,' who was a brother of the returned woman through marriage.

"So the woman took the returned Gros Ventre woman to this camp and said: 'I have brought you a Gros Ventre woman. Come and see who it is.' As soon as they saw who it was, they were glad and took her and kissed her and gave her everything good.

"One evening a few days later Warrior Man and his wife got
ready and before sunup started off for the big Gros Ventre camp.
He walked while Crow Bull's wife rode horseback. It was spring-
time with wet snow still on the ground. The big camp was at Big 131
Sandy, on the north side of Milk River at the place where the 221
trees stop. They arrived there early in the morning and did not 361
know where to go. I, Coming Daylight, saw the man and the two
women approaching and went out to see who they were. The
man asked: 'Where is Crow Bull's lodge?' I then saw them go to
Crow Bull's lodge. All at his lodge were glad to see the returned
captive and kissed her.

"Later when the ground got dry, the whole tribe moved to their 131
usual place here at what is now Hays. Crow Bull made good his 221
vow to take the Flat Pipe if his wife got back safe to him, and I 361
witnessed the transfer, by the keeper of the time, Lame Bull. The
rite took place just about a half mile north of where St. Paul's
Mission now is."

Crow Bull kept the Pipe a long time, until his death in 1887, upon which it fell to his widow, an Assiniboine woman named Coming Day. This woman neglected the Pipe. Coming Daylight told her: "Now, this Pipe is just like your father. Why is he always left alone? He was never left alone before. Now I have a mare and this Pipe has a saddle. Put the Pipe on the saddle and take it to White Bird. He will take care of it." So they went to White Bird and talked to him first. He agreed to take it over without rite or vow. On the request of a young man, Bird Sits High, the Pipe was transferred to him. This young man died soon after and his father, Otter Robe, took it upon himself to harbor the Pipe. When Otter Robe died, sometime prior to 1908, 793 Horse Capture, the brother of Thick and the Assiniboine woman, Coming Day, who was still living—who had married Horse Capture and in her latter days had come to realize her duties toward the Pipe,—were ritually inaugurated as Pipe keeper and Pipe woman by Lame Bull. Then Coming Day died, as did also in 1908 Lame Bull, and Horse Capture was left alone with the Pipe. He married again and The Boy's mother, who had earlier been Pipe woman, instructed Horse Capture's second wife in her ritual duties. Horse Capture was the last ritual keeper of the Pipe. When Horse Capture died, his widow took the Pipe over. Thick wanted to bury the Pipe with Horse Capture, but was dissuaded from doing so, and agreed to keep it. Later Horse Capture's widow, who lived successively with Thick's family, the Birdtail family, and The Boy's family, willed the Pipe to The Boy, to dispose of it as he saw fit. On her death, The Boy wanted to take it over but his wife as a Catholic objected. The Boy finally got [745] her consent on the ground that "we are both Catholics; I want to keep the Pipe as a keepsake, not to pray to as it used to be prayed to," but it was arranged that the Pipe would remain in the keeping of Thick (married to The Boy's sister) until The Boy and his wife were ready to take it.

[755] The last ritual opening of the Pipe bundle occurred in 1937 as a prayer for cure, when Joe Assiniboine's small son was affected with bad sores on his face. The rite was only partially and negligently carried out at the time. The final formal uncovering of the Pipe took place on February 6, 1946, after the return of [927] the Gros Ventre members of the armed forces from World War II. On this occasion the full rite, as far as recalled, was enacted, and the Pipe and Pipe bundle given a thorough cleaning and renovating. The bundle with the Pipe is now (1955) carefully kept at The Boy's ranch at Lodge Pole.

The elective system rather than the voluntary vow was the more common one. Under this system, where the actual keeper decided to give up and transfer the Flat Pipe, he would confidentially summon the surviving ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers (not the other wives) of both the Flat and Feathered Pipes to come secretly without a word to anybody, to meet at his lodge, on a given night after everybody was asleep lest the matter became known and the prospective electee take flight. When a rumor would spread that a new election was imminent, those who thought they might be elected used commonly to go away and sleep elsewhere than in their own lodges, as almost all were reluctant to become keepers. Those invited to the election meeting had to keep absolute secrecy beforehand, and at the meeting itself no one else than the keeper and co-keeper and the above invitees was present except two attendants, sons of keepers or ex-keepers. 793

The actual keeper might open the discussion by proposing a name. Discussion was free but dignified. Agreement would be finally reached, perhaps well after midnight or towards morning, on the keeper's first choice or on some other man. Knowing how onerous the keepership was, the keeper out of the regard for the ex-keepers would not be apt to nominate one of their sons, and ordinarily did not nominate one of his own.

The proposed keeper had to be a prominent member of the tribe, a man of great ability and renown, with a record of recognized achievement and with very considerable wealth in horses, in the size and furnishings of his lodge, and so forth. He had to be of the cream of the tribe, or "the best among many." And he had "to be good" as the Gros Ventre ethical code conceived goodness. He had to be generous; a stingy man, even though a great warrior, and even though he had vowed to become keeper, would never get the Pipe, for the keeper had to feed people and to be good to them and have pity on them. A murderer of a fellow tribesman could not become keeper, nor could a "professional" gambler, that is, one who is known to have supernatural gambling power. In general one guilty of grave crime such as rape or theft from fellow tribesman, or of habitual marked moral delinquency or defect, such as lying, backbiting, felony, disbelief in or disrespect for holy things, was barred from the keepership as he was barred from rising high in the prestige scale. 793 577 [778] [554]

After the choice was finally decided upon, the whole party with others of their kin proceeded secretively before or toward daybreak to the lodge of the electee to seize him bodily by surprise before he could escape. Once seized or even only elected he had practically 793 no choice but to accept. If he[1] did not accept, there was no legal punishment inflicted such as physical violence, killing or banishment, but rather a supernatural one. It was thought that some grave evil would befall the person chosen if he did not accept the office.

The two following episodes, narrated by The Boy, from his father's and his own life throw some further light on the elective system and prevalent attitudes of reluctance to being elected as keeper. While the keepership carried with it great prestige, the reluctance is quite understandable in view of the severe restrictions and taboos that went with the keepership.

"When Lame Bull was a young man, just having reached maturity, he had a very close good friend, Kitfox Head. The two solemnly agreed that they would never become keepers of either the Flat or the Feathered Pipe, as being a keeper meant having a hard life. They agreed to avoid this office but to work hard in order to become outstanding men, warriors, with a life of freedom. They so grew up and married, remaining fast friends all the time.

"When Lame Bull was in his thirties, before reaching middle age, the Gros Ventres were on one occasion camped at the eastern end of the brush nearest to where St. Paul's Mission now is. Lame Bull, who then had three wives, was sleeping soundly one night when an old woman came to the door of his tent, woke him up and warned him: 'They are perhaps going to make you keeper. A big crowd is on its way, making for your lodge.' Lame Bull said to one of his wives: "Look out and see if the old woman is right.' She did and said: 'Yes. They are here close.'

"The crowd was too close for him to escape through the door, so he pushed his way out through the back of his lodge. Once out he gave one look back, saw the crowd and dashed for liberty. He ran round west and north to the right of the canyon up from where the Mission now is and into the mountains, leaving his wives.

"The first two wives made their way out through the door. The keeper stood at the door but could not prevent their escape as his hands were engaged in holding a pipe. The 'strong man' of the crowd was too busy looking for Lame Bull to think of the wives.

[1] [i.e., the electee as Keeper of the Flat Pipe. -Analyst]

The keeper knew Lame Bull had only three wives and when he saw that two had gotten away and that the third and last was coming out, he said: 'Be sure to get this one. She is the last.' She was the youngest of the three, the mother of The Boy. Somebody did seize her. 793

"Then the members of the crowd pulled out all the picket pins and grabbed everything they could find. But they did not get everything belonging to Lame Bull and his wives, for the brother of the oldest wife had stolen into the crowd in order to protect his sister's property, and he was a good fighter, a man to be reckoned with. When the crowd started raiding, he threw the people right and left, fighting, hitting and pushing them, and so saved his sister's bed and some of her things.

"The crowd had gotten one of Lame Bull's wives but could not find him, and were undecided what to do. They finally agreed to take Lame Bull's wife back with them. They put a robe down and said to her: 'Sit on this. We are going to carry you back on that robe.' But when they lifted her up and put her on it she jumped off, saying: 'I don't want to be carried. I would rather walk.' One of the men, a cousin of hers, said: 'Get on to it, or else we will whip you.' So she got on it and they carried her over (to the keeper's lodge, apparently). When they arrived there they all sat down and took their places just as if Lame Bull were there, with the wife seated next to the keeper's wife. [482]

"Then the ex-keeper, who had transferred the Pipe to the keeper from whom Lame Bull had just run, said, 'I will try to call my friend (Lame Bull). Maybe he does not want to be keeper.' So the keeper gave his place to this ex-keeper who then started to perform the rite for summoning unwilling persons.

"All this time Lame Bull was hiding up in the mountains, and it so happened that his horses were grazing nearby. As he looked at them he was more than ever determined never to become a keeper, for he did not want to give his horses away as he would have to do as keeper. So while he was listening to the singing and rattling of the rite, he said to himself: 'Sing all you want. I'll never go down there.'

793 "As, however, the singing continued, Lame Bull started to think seriously. He could hear the singing clearly as he was quite close. The rite went on. At last he looked at his horses again and thought to himself: 'I have many horses. I believe I'll surely have some of them left. I think I'll go down and become keeper. Probably they have my wives anyhow, and my children will be hungry and lonesome.'

"So Lame Bull came down off the mountain and half ran all the way back to camp. But he did not go straight to the keeper's lodge. He went instead to the lodge of some of his old women relatives with the idea of getting something to eat first, because he was hungry and he knew the rite of installation would take a long time. On reaching the old women's lodge he was given a good scolding by them, and they told him: 'The party has your youngest wife. She is over there.' 'I'm going over,' he said, 'but first give me something to eat.' They did so, but he could not eat much. Meanwhile the singing started again. As soon as he was through eating he went straight to the keeper's lodge, entered, and walked clockwise to the keeper. The ex-keeper still had the Flat Pipe in his hands. Lame Bull took hold of the Pipe, and the ex-keeper was glad. So Lame Bull went through the whole installation rite and became keeper. The rite cost him, among other things, 20 horses of his own, 3 from Kitfox Head, and others from his relatives, a total of 30. All through his life, Lame Bull thought that his being summoned with the Flat Pipe by the ex-keeper from a distance of a couple of miles was one of his greatest experiences."

The foregoing account of Lame Bull's reluctance to accept, but final acceptance of, the Flat Pipe had been gotten by The Boy from his father. The following account of The Boy's reluctance is from himself.

"At one period in my early life I had a dream that the Flat Pipe wished me to be keeper. A second time I had the dream. I mentioned the dreams to nobody. A third time I had a dream in which the Pipe said to me: 'If you refuse the request I make of you, something will change the prosperity you are now enjoying.' At this time I was in the prime of life, in good health, very successful with plenty of money and with large herds of cattle and horses. 793

"I worried about the dreams, so I told my father who was still alive then. He made no reply at first; he was apparently in deep thought. After a while he said to me: 'I have decided that it is best for you not to be keeper. You are young, entering the prime of life.' My father did not think I should throw my life away, in view of the restrictions imposed on the keeper. I was willing to become keeper but I respected my father's advice and I followed it. My father said: 'Make a sweat lodge and we will make an offering instead of your being made keeper.' And this we did. Someone else then became keeper, namely, Thick's brother, Horse Capture.

"Then Lame Bull died, and not many years after I met adversity in my ranching and all my worldly affairs went wrong. Since then I have never been able to reach the height of prosperity that I had previously enjoyed. But I am not angry over this. I still keep my respect for the Flat Pipe because it is one of the chief things in the life of my ancestors."

A variant of the elective procedure above described occurred where the electee was close kin to the keeper. Thus around 1873, just before Crow Bull fulfilled his vow of taking the Flat Pipe, Big Beaver was keeper of the Feathered Pipe and Lame Bull keeper of the Flat Pipe, and one of Bull Lodge's sisters was the wife of Big Beaver and another the wife of Lame Bull. Both keepers at about the same time planned to make the transfer of their respective Pipes to Bull Lodge, brother-in-law of both. The two sisters came one right after the other to Bull Lodge to notify him of the decisions. Since the two women were his sisters he could not well refuse. He agreed: "All right. I am glad. Only one thing I ask. Tell my brothers-in-law not to make a raid on my lodge. Come after I make my new lodge (in the fall), and I will accept whichever Pipe is brought me first." Actually the Feathered Pipe party came first and Bull Lodge became Feathered Pipe keeper.

The new keeper chose one of his wives, often the chief or oldest one, to be co-keeper with him. The keeper's other wives were not

793 co-keepers with her, but they or one of them would substitute
for her in such minor duties as taking the Pipe out of the lodge
in the morning and bringing it back in the evening when she
was sick abed, or busy, or during her menses. During menses the
[841 co-keeper was not allowed to handle the Pipe. After Crow Bull,
784] during his keepership, gave away his head wife and co-keeper,
Digger, to Small White Cow in a drunken spree and Digger went
away as wife to Small White Cow, Crow Bull's second oldest wife,
Coming Day became co-keeper in Digger's place. If a man at the
[784] time of becoming keeper had a young wife with an infant, she and
the infant were sent away to another lodge as infant-crying was
not allowed in the keeper's lodge where the Pipe was.

The Flat Pipe keeper, if he had two or more children, chose one and one only of his children, more commonly a boy, to be Pipe Child. It was a strict rule that he could keep only one of his children with him; all his other children had to live elsewhere than in their father's lodge, because, for one important reason, the Pipe was jealous. Some keepers were such rigorists in the matter that they practically forgot all their other children.

793 The children that were put out of their father's lodge naturally
found this hard and rebelled, but they were trained to take it as
784 a matter of course. A special interest was taken by others in such
593 children as they were felt to be unfortunate in being deprived of
the care and affection of their own parents. These children were
permitted to visit their father and mother but they were under
restrictions when they did so. Their grandmothers or foster parents
would instruct them how to behave on such visits. They
could not stay long, much less sleep there. They had to sit quiet
in a special place in their parents' lodge and not roam around
in it freely. They had to stay mostly near the door and not go
near where the Pipe was. They were strictly forbidden to play
in their father's lodge when visiting there. If their mother gave
[781] them something to eat they could eat it. They could sit on her lap.
But they could not talk loud or shout. When so visiting they were
not at ease and felt sort of foreign and awestricken. The Boy
793 thought that these children may have been jealous of their sibling,
593 the Pipe Child, but in such case they would have had to keep

their feelings to themselves, for any show of such feelings would 793
be contrary to the deep veneration due to the Pipe and its official 593
personnel. They had to be resigned to have that particular sibling as the Pipe Child. When the keeper gave up his keepership, some of his children might go back to their father's lodge but not necessarily all of them. Some had gotten used to living elsewhere and just remained there.

The Boy's own experience may further illustrate the foregoing 793
situation.

He was born while his father, Lame Bull, was keeper of the 793
Flat Pipe, and consequently he was born not in his father's lodge 603
but in that of one of his grandmothers. His mother went back to
his father's lodge, but she used to come to his grandmother's lodge 593
to nurse and look after him. In his earliest years he had four or five "grandmothers" or great-grandmothers [real and classificatory] living, one of them his mother's mother. He stayed most of the time with his maternal grandmother and with her mother. It was from these grandmothers that he got most of the affectionate attention he craved and most of his early training and instruction. Every night, too, one or other of the grandmothers would tell old-time stories and Ni:həhat tales. After a while he was permitted to go to his father's lodge but only for a little while at a time, but he was not allowed to live or sleep there. He never addressed his parents as "father" or "mother," but only by their given names, although there was no taboo in the matter, and his younger brother Andrew Lame Bull used the former manner of address. The Boy as a child did not feel much inclined to "play baby" and sit alongside his father and mother, as other Gros Ventre children did, to get special attention, but he did act so elsewhere, around his grandmothers and great-grandmothers. He did not go to live in his father's lodge until he was about nine (or eleven?) years old, after his father had ceased being Pipe keeper, and by this time he was able to take pretty good care of himself, to ride horseback, and so forth.

All of The Boy's eight brothers and sisters—he was the ninth 793
—who survived infancy were reared outside their father's lodge, 593
except the one who was Pipe child. After Lame Bull's keepership

793 593 ended, all of them just invaded their father's lodge. The Pipe child did not measure up to Lame Bull's expectations, so the latter's attention slowly centered on The Boy. Lame Bull, as an ex-keeper, still practiced some of the Pipe ceremonies, and The Boy came to act the part of "Pipe child" in these for his father.

RITE OF TRANSFER

793 *796 When the keeper of the Flat Pipe was about to transfer it to a successor he would invite to his lodge for a secret night meeting the surviving ex-keepers with their ex-co-keeper wives of both the Flat and the Feathered Pipes. The Feathered Pipe ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers were present purely as invited guests. They did not have any voice in decisions nor did they do any prompting. The first task of the assembled Flat Pipe group was to choose the new keeper, as previously described. The Flat Pipe ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers, further, remained with the transferring keeper and his co-keeper wife throughout the rite of transfer, to prompt and correct them in case they should forget, be in doubt about, or incorrectly perform some part of the rite. Two young men attendants, usually sons of keeper or ex-keepers, were present throughout the election transfer.

After the group had decided who should be next keeper, they quietly scattered and gathered together their relatives and reassembled outside the actual keeper's lodge. The whole party then proceeded quietly, at night before dawn when the camp was asleep, to the selectee's lodge, the keeper in the lead holding the bared Flat Pipe stem forward and slanting upward, with the bowl in his cupped left hand and the stem in his upturned right palm, at about breast height. One of the party, an ex-keeper or one of his sons or other kin, a physically powerful man, had been designated as the person to grab and hold the selectee in case he tried to run away.

The party usually succeeded in reaching the selectee's lodge without arousing anyone. On arrival thereat they all shouted noisily. This was the signal for the strong man to dash into the selectee's lodge and seize him. Any other member of the party could grab the selectee's wife who was to be co-keeper pipe

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796*

woman. Once grabbed she ceased to struggle, took a blanket or robe, sat down and covered her head so she could not see anything. She so remained with head covered until the transfer ceremony began. After the two were seized and held fast, the members of the party raided the belongings of the selected couple, grabbing everything in sight, and no matter how valuable, keeping it for their own. When the raid was over the selectee was "penniless." All his property was gone. He had nothing left but his wife.

The selectee then had a good fire made to give light, and sent his other wives and his children away from the lodge. All the raiding party, too, left except the selectee and co-selectee wife, the keeper and his co-keeper wife, the ex-keepers and their ex-co-keeper wives and the two young men attendants. From then on the rite was secret and no one else was allowed to be present or to peek in.

The elite group then marched into the selectee's lodge, the keeper in the lead still holding the Flat Pipe. The keeper next went to the selectee, holding the stem toward him and handed him the Pipe. The selectee took hold of it with both hands wherever there was room next to the keeper's hands. With both men holding the Pipe, the keeper said: "Here, my grandson, is your Pipe." To this he replied: "My grandfather, I am glad to receive this Pipe."

With both still holding the Pipe, the keeper now touched first the right and then the left shoulder or side of chest of the selectee with the Pipe and released his hold of the Pipe. From this moment the selectee was keeper, and the transferring keeper became an ex-keeper.

Next the new keeper, holding the Pipe, and his co-keeper wife, were both carried, on robes or blankets in procession while the marchers sang, to the transferring ex-keeper's lodge. By this procession and its accompanying singing it became known publicly that a transfer of the Pipe had taken place. On arrival the new keeper deposited the Pipe in its place on its wrappings. Here the first teaching of the new keeper and co-keeper began, and lasted throughout the following day. Here they remained throughout the same day and until the morning of the day after, obliged to

793 fast from both food and water until the feast on the second day.
*796 The Pipe remained in the transferring keeper's lodge all the rest of this first night, and throughout the next day and night, not fully wrapped, but loosely covered.

The first day, at the transferring keeper's lodge, was devoted mostly to teaching the new keeper and co-keeper the various rites as well as the obligations, prerogatives, powers, taboos and etiquette observances connected with the keepership. All this was done secretly, with no one present except the new keeper and co-keeper, the co-keepers and ex-co-keepers and the two attendants. The new keeper and co-keeper were coached chiefly by the retiring keeper and co-keeper respectively, who however would where necessary, be assisted, prompted, corrected or even in some matters superseded by some of the other better informed Flat Pipe ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers. Whenever the instructing last keeper was in doubt he would ask the other ex-keepers present. For giving such coaching the instructors had to be paid well by the new keeper, in horses or any other property which he may still have had left after the previous night's raid and which his relatives, coming to his aid, would provide. By the end of the instruction, which continued through to the third day of the transfer rite, the man's relatives might themselves be "penniless." For each segment of instruction a payment had to be made. The payments were generally made to the retiring keeper and co-keeper, who would keep part and distribute the remainder to the other ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers and also to his relatives who had helped him out when he had become keeper.

Instruction continued through this first day until sundown. That night the new keeper and co-keeper slept in the lodge of the retiring keeper where the Pipe was.

The second day of the transfer ceremony was given over chiefly to further instruction and to the double-lodge rite.

This double lodge was made right in the middle of the camp circle by taking down two big lodges and setting them up in figure-8 ground plan to form one large interior without obstruction or "veil" between and with the long double-axis running north and south. The Pipe was carried to the double lodge and de-

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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posited in the north section thereof, which was reserved for the Pipe and for new keeper and co-keeper, who walked there from the retiring keeper's lodge, and for the ex-keepers, ex-co-keepers and two attendants. The cover of this northern section was down, but that of the southern was lifted up to let the people look in and watch. Into the southern section went a group of Sacrifice Lodge men and another of Stars, and each group sat in its own circle on either side of the interior. Other people would also come in till all space was occupied. Children were not allowed to fool around the double lodge and dogs were kept away, but the general public was welcome. During the following song contest the new keeper and co-keeper sat with heads covered and faces hidden. 793 1796*

793 1796* 533

When all was ready, at the word from the ex-keeper's party, the Sacrifice Dancers and Stars shouted and beat their drums, then stopped. After that the retiring keeper started singing the Flat Pipe song "My holiness, have pity on me," all the other ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers joining in. At the same time the Sacrifice Dancer and Star groups each started one of its own songs. The singing recalled the gladness that followed upon the first making of dry land, the increase and welfare of the succeeding generations under fidelity to the old beliefs and under good leadership, and the wish that the new keeper would perpetuate all this and that his leadership would be successful.

The simultaneous singing of the three distinct songs was also a sort of contest to see which group was "stronger," which group or individual would amidst this bedlam of conflicting choruses first sing false. Rivalry was keen but good-natured between the three groups of singers. The moment any one member of any of the three groups began to sing false, that is, if a Star sang the Sacrifice Dancer's song or an ex-keeper sang the Star's song, the singing stopped. Everybody knew at once which group had made the mistake, but not which individual. He had to confess. This was made public and everybody including the onlookers, laughed at and bantered the one who sang false and his group. Then a recess was taken and they sat around and chatted and smoked. After the recess, the same procedure was repeated; then came another recess, followed by a third contest and recess.

793 *796 At the end of the recess after the third "crazy singing," the boisterous hilarity gave place to sober seriousness, and the solemn secret instruction and consecration of the new keeper and co-keeper were resumed in the northern section of the double lodge. About this time, too, the new Pipe child came into the lodge, and the heads and faces of the new keeper and co-keeper were uncovered. In general when, during their training, the two were learning by hearing, their heads were covered so they could concentrate their attention on what they heard; while, when learning by seeing, their heads were uncovered. The covering of the head at certain times, as on the march to the keeper's lodge immediately after the previous night's notification and raid and as during the "crazy singing," seems also to have had an "ascetic" purpose, just as the abstention from food and smoking throughout most of this first day had.

[824] The instruction after the "crazy singing" concerned primarily the ritual of smoking the Flat Pipe. Right after the uncovering of the heads of the keeper and co-keeper, the retiring keeper took peppermint leaves and gave some to the new keeper, while the retiring co-keeper did the same, giving some to the new co-keeper. Then each of the four chewed the le[illegible] spat three times on his or her own hands, rubbed the hands [illegible] then with the right palm rubbed his or her own left fore[illegible] up to the shoulder and with left palm the right forearm up to the shoulder, and finally with right palm from the mouth up over the face and hair to the occiput,—three rubbing or laving motions in all. This was done three times in succession.

[372] After this peppermint laving came the fumigation or smudging rite. At the word of the retiring keeper the first of the two attendants, to the west of the door, with two sticks as tongs took a lighted buffalo chip from the fire in the center of the lodge and placed it on the incense mound (to be described later), and went back to his place, proceeding clockwise throughout. The retiring keeper then took from the supply alongside him a pinch of dried peppermint leaves in the tips of his five right-hand fingers and crawled on his knees to the incense hearth. There, kneeling squatted on his heels, and facing east, he held his hand, finger tips

down, at shoulder height and sang the incense song while the other 793
members of his party joined in, and at the conclusion of the song 796*
said: "Yo!" Then he lowered his hand a little, sang with the others the same song, and ended with the recited "Yo!" Finally he further lowered his hand close to the hearth, sang with the [533]
others the same song, and at the end made three circles clockwise with his hand around the burning chip saying at each circle: "Yo'ho ho ho" (Yo followed by glottal stop; ho ho ho, in lower pitch, not emphatic), and after the third circle released the peppermint on the chip. Then he turned toward the south, and the same triple rite was repeated, and finally toward the west, with repetition of the rite.

Immediately after this, the retiring keeper, the new keeper, the retiring co-keeper, and the new co-keeper, in this order, fumigated themselves. Each put his (or her) hands palm down, in the [788]
peppermint incense smoke, rubbed his hands together, rubbed the left arm from the tips of fingers up to the shoulder with the right palm and the right arm likewise with the left palm. This was done three times. Then three times in succession he put his right palm over the incense, lifted his palm to his mouth, and inhaled. Then he held both palms over the incense and passed them from his mouth up over his face and hair to his occiput.

The Pipe child also went through both the peppermint laving and the fumigating rite in each case after the other four participants.

The retiring keeper next filled the Flat Pipe with tobacco. He took a little tobacco in the five fingers of his right hand, finger tips down, while holding the Pipe by the bowl in his left hand. Poising his right hand about a foot above the bowl, he spat a little. Then he made a pass with the tobacco down a little nearer to the bowl and spat. Next he repeated the pass still nearer, and spat, and put the tobacco in the bowl. Then he filled the bowl with tobacco. Then laid the Pipe down with stem to the east on sage brush between the hearth and the pipe bed. After this a recess was taken. The party chatted and smoked socially or left the lodge.

After the recess, the retiring keeper would say to all: "Let

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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793 us begin again. Keep quiet," and to the first attendant: "Bring
a live buffalo chip." The attendant did so, put it on the hearth,
*796 and returned to his place. The retiring keeper then took a pinch
of dried peppermint leaves, and after the triple successive lowering
and three clockwise circles above described, but without song or
spoken word, released the peppermint, dropping it on the smoldering
chip.

[516] Squatting on his knees and heels instead of cross-legged, so
that he could move around more easily, he took up the Flat Pipe,
grasping it by the stem, palms up, with his left hand nearer the
bowl. Then he circled the stem through the incense and upward
until it pointed *east* and held it steady a moment at this point.
He repeated the circling and pointing at a lower level, again at
a still lower one, and finally made three clockwise circles with
the bowl around the incense. Next he repeated the same smudging
but toward the *south;* finally, toward the *west.*

After the smudging came the solemn prayer (to be described
later) said by the retiring keeper, kneeling upright and holding
the Pipe with the stem pointing, not to any point of the compass,
[516] but vertically upward. At the end of the prayer he let himself down
on his heels, still kneeling, and held the Pipe in position to smoke.
He ordered the first attendant: "Bring a live buffalo chip." The
[412] attendant thereupon took a chip from the lodge hearth with a
forked stick and applied it to the tobacco in the Pipe. The keeper
[276] puffed the Pipe until the tobacco was lit, and then took three
distinct puffs, blowing the smoke upward around and downward
around. Then he passed the Pipe to the new keeper, first swinging
it upward. The new keeper, after taking three puffs and blowing
the smoke up and down in the same manner, took a real full
smoke with the Pipe. Then he passed it clockwise to the nearest
ex-keeper to the east, who smoked it, but without swinging it
upward. Then it was passed in turn clockwise to the other ex-keepers,
if there were others, to be smoked but not swung, till
it reached the last nearest the door. The ex-co-keepers did not
smoke the Pipe in this or in any other Flat Pipe rite. Then the
lighted Pipe was passed back anti-clockwise, without smoking, and
without swinging upward except by the new keeper (this honor

was reserved to the new keeper), and with tamping by the retiring keeper as it passed him, till it reached the last ex-keeper on the west side of the lodge. Then it was passed clockwise back toward the new keeper, each ex-keeper on the west side smoking it in turn, till it reached the retiring keeper. By this time the tobacco would probably be all smoked up, so he would dump it out by lifting up the Pipe, horizontal and bowl up, to head height, then lowering it still horizontal and bowl up, and finally turning the bowl over,—all this being done very slowly. 793 796*

Another important part of the transfer rite was the blessing of the person and clothing of the new keeper and co-keeper, but when it occurred, before or after the Pipe smoking, was not cleared up. According to The Boy, "Every part of the new keeper was blessed, even his mouth, that is, his talk was blessed," but we obtained only the following details. The new keeper and co-keeper (and Pipe child) were painted by the retiring keeper on the forehead and under the jawbone and chin as signifying the world above and the earth respectively. The retiring keeper also chewed peppermint leaves and spat upon the two, to signify that they must "quiet down and be good." [302]

The moccasins and feet of the new keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child were treated as follows. The retiring keeper took peppermint leaves in his mouth, chewed them, spat three times on the sole of one moccasin (moccasined foot) of the new keeper, lowered it down in three stages over the smudge of the sacred hearth, and circled it three times around the hearth. Then he took a pinch of poisonous wild parsley (see infra), spat three times on his palms, rubbed the palms together and rubbed the sole of the moccasin with his palm three times from toe to heel. The same treatment was given to the keeper's other moccasin by the retiring keeper, then to the new co-keeper's moccasins by the retiring co-keeper, and lastly to the new Pipe child's moccasins by the retiring keeper. At the end of the whole transfer these blessed moccasins were taken off and put in the Flat Pipe bundle, and were worn only during rites, not as everyday footwear. Every other piece of clothing of the new keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child was blessed with peppermint and fumigation, apparently with a similar rite [824]

793 although without the wild parsley, but we did not obtain details.

After ritual treatment of their wearing apparel, the new keeper
796 and co-keeper had to take off any ring, necklace or other personal
adornment made of copper, iron or other metal, as the wearing
784 of metal adornments was forbidden them, apparently because such
were from the whites. The two, but not the Pipe child, were each
ritually invested with a necklace consisting of a large single shell
on a string of twisted, not plaited, buckskin. The investure was
done with three motions as if putting the necklace on, and at the
third it was actually put on. Further the keeper, but not the co-keeper,
302 had to frame his hair over his forehead with a large
pompadour, as a sign of distinction.[1]

The new co-keeper also put some dried peppermint leaves mixed
778 with poisonous wild parsley in a little buckskin sack which she
then wore on her belt. This had a double purpose. First, the
mixture being poisonous, she commanded respect. She must not
be molested or even be bodily touched. Whoever molested or even
837 touched her would suffer fits or spasms or a paralytic stroke. Second,
she must live a virtuous life and not run around with other
men. The co-keeper and keeper, as also the ex-co-keepers and ex-keepers,
784 since they had all been consecrated with peppermint and
fumigation could handle the wild parsley without danger, but the
common people were not immune to its supposedly highly toxic
effects.

On this second day a big feast was given. Most of the food
was provided by the new keeper and his relatives. That eaten
262 by the new keeper and co-keeper, who had been fasting from food
784 and water since the time they were first siezed a good thirty or
more hours previously, was provided by the ex-keepers.

At sundown the day's instruction ended. That night the new keeper and co-keeper, the ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers and two attendants slept in the double lodge, where the Pipe also remained.

Very early the next morning (or less probably late on the second day; our field information is not clear) the Flat Pipe which had been kept only loosely covered most of the time since the first night was ritually wrapped up in its bundle and the new keeper was told to observe carefully so he would know how the re-wrapping was done. 793 796*

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[1] In 1948 The Boy added: "When a man became keeper, he ceased to comb his hair and it would get in all kinds of shapes and hang down. So he would take a bunch from the center and wind it round and round and tied that knot of hair around with a string. Whenever the keeper took off that string the people would be afraid!" [R.F.]

Meanwhile a regulation Flat Pipe sweat-lodge was put up, outside the camp circle as always and near the new keeper's lodge, for the new keeper and ex-keepers to sweat. In this sweat the women co-keepers did not join. The first after the Supreme Being (and other supernatural beings?) in the list of invitees to sweat was the new keeper, after him the ex-keepers. After all had taken their places inside the sweat-lodge, the retiring co-keeper carried the Flat Pipe, wrapped in its bundle, walking clockwise if necessary around the sweat-lodge, to the door thereof as the last. She entered by the east door, deposited the bundle in the place of honor at the west, and went out through the small west door. When it was time to take the Pipe out, she, accompanied by the new co-keeper, came to the west door, reached in and grasped the Pipe bundle, at once handed over the bundle to the new co-keeper and escorted her to the latter's lodge.

Then the new keeper and the ex-keepers sweated. When through, they put on their clothes and scattered to their lodges, the new keeper going back to his own, a new one which the retiring keeper and his relatives provided for him if his old one had been lost in the first night's raid. For every pin put in to hold the new lodge down he had to make a gift to the retiring keeper and the latter's relatives. So too even when they tied the door and showed the new keeper and his wife how to start their fire, make their bed, mount a horse, and so forth. [431]

So ended the transfer rite proper. The new keeper and co-keeper were now consecrated, and had to live by the keepership code, no matter how they had previously lived.

So ended, too, the preliminary instruction. But further instruction was given from time to time later. When the new keeper, with the help of his relatives, would gather together sufficient property, he would seek further instruction from the Flat Pipe ex-keepers especially the last keeper or some particularly well-

793 *796 informed one, feasting them and also, *de regueur,* giving payment in valuable goods for each bit of instruction received. In these instruction sessions, the last keeper usually played the leading role, but the others would coach and correct when necessary or one of them if better informed on this or that point might teach while the last keeper took a back seat. The retiring co-keeper did most of the instruction of the new co-keeper. The Feathered Pipe keeper co-keeper, ex-keepers, and ex-co-keepers would commonly sit in at these sessions, but only as guests, without taking part in the instruction. Lame Bull, when first made keeper, got a great deal of his instruction from Deer, an earlier exceptionally well informed keeper.

793 608 A ritual relationship was contracted between the new keeper and co-keeper on the one hand and the ex-keeper and ex-co-keepers on the other. All the ex-keepers become "grandfathers" to the new keeper and co-keeper; all the ex-co-keepers, "grandmothers" to them; and are so addressed by these names respectively. The retiring keeper and co-keeper became, as it were, principal "grandfather" and "grandmother" respectively. This sacred relationship was looked upon as very like that between grandparents and grandchildren by blood. Privileged familiarity in the way of vulgar talk and banter, between these ritual grandparents and grandchildren, obtained, but not quite the large degree of freedom that obtained between grandparents and grandchildren by blood.[8] The ritual "grandfathers" and "grandmothers" also had certain recognized [626] powers of control over their "grandchildren": if, for instance, one of these "grandsons" went on a berserk rampage and was about to kill a fellow-tribesman, and his own father and mother could not bring him to reason, one of the ritual grandfathers might be called in to reason with his grandson and the latter would have to abandon his angry murderous design.

KEEPER'S LODGE

342 346 The Flat Pipe keeper's lodge was a large one, undecorated on the outside except for a portion painted red around the door.

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[8] Cf. Flannery, 1953, pp. 121-22.

The lodges of the other people faced toward the east-southeast, 342
from utilitarian consideration, since the prevailing and strongest 346
winds were from the northwest in winter and west in summer.
But the door of the keeper's lodge was toward the south, an orientation
determined by the ritual position of the Pipe inside the lodge, [361]
namely, in the place of honor opposite the door with the stem pointing
toward the rising sun.

The interior of the keeper's lodge was arranged as follows. In 342
the center was the family hearth. About midway between this and 346
the north segment was the square incense hearth, with the west
half of black sand and the east of red. At the north, close to the 353
wall, was the Pipe bed and place for the Pipe tripod. The bed, 778
oriented east and west, was made of a buffalo robe over sage brush. At each end was a willow back rest, and over each rest a robe of summer-pelage (after winter coat completely shed) buffalo skin. The tripod, of three legs, was a little over five feet high. The Pipe bundle was either laid on the bed close to the wall or else hung on the tripod, always with the stem to the rising sun. The northern part of the lodge, including the incense hearth and Pipe bed and adjacent area, in all about one-third of the interior, constituted a sort of "sanctuary."

The keeper's sleeping bed, with its back rest toward the north, 342
was a little removed from the Pipe bed, toward the west; the
co-keeper's in a corresponding position toward the east. The Pipe 346
child commonly slept on the Pipe bed, alongside of and to the 513
south of the Pipe bundle, with his head to the east. If however the keeper or co-keeper wanted to sleep on the Pipe bed in order to dream, the Pipe child would then give place and sleep in his father's or mother's bed as the case might be. When any of the three slept on the Pipe bed, the Pipe bundle might hang on the tripod over them or else rest on the northern edge of the bed nearest the wall. In the latter case, the tripod was folded up and leaned between the Pipe bed and the co-keeper's bed. According to Thick the sleepers had to lie flat on their backs all night. According, however, to The Boy they were forbidden to do so and [784]
had instead to lie on their sides, because the turtle was closely
associated with the Flat Pipe and if a turtle gets on its back it [825]
cannot right itself.

342 346 353 The triangular space between the foot of the Pipe bed and the head of the keeper's bed served the keeper as a place to keep such of his personal and ritual belongings as his peppermint, sage brush, personal smoking pipe, and so forth.

778 788 In good weather, the Pipe bundle was taken outside by the co-keeper in the morning (rite to be described later) and hung up, stem to east, on the outside of the keeper's lodge just above the door, the thong handle of the bundle being looped around a pin of the lodge. About sundown the bundle was brought inside again by the co-keeper to its ritual place. At night the opening of the keeper's lodge was securely closed with a piece of rawhide, shaped like the door, covered with a sort of lattice work of rawhide, and fastened from the inside.

778 The keeper's lodge, as the depository of the Flat Pipe and the dwelling of the consecrated custodians thereof, had to be treated with great respect. This respect was formalized in a number of ritual and other observances.

784 No one was permitted to step over the incense hearth, under penalty of being inflicted with fits.

When the keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child took off their moccasins for the night, these had to be deposited, not alongside the beds or under the pillows or anywhere in the "sanctuary," but near the lodge door,—the keeper's to the west of the door, the co-keeper's to the east, the Pipe child's to either the west or the east *ad libitum*. If this were not done, severe headaches would result.

Anyone entering the keeper's lodge or leaving it or passing from one part of it to another, always had to walk clockwise.

784 516 When anything was going on therein, with men and women both present, the men had to sit on the western side, the women on the eastern. When they sat down, they could not sit with legs stretched out in front; the men squatted on their heels with knees touching the ground and legs parallel, while the women sat on their buttocks with their legs to the right side one leg under the other.

784 No one, adult or child, could throw stones or sticks at the keeper's lodge. Children were not allowed to play or fool or romp

around it, but were taught and trained to be quiet around it and to observe reverence toward it. 784

No whistling or crying was permitted in the keeper's lodge. The keeper and co-keeper were forbidden to cry in the presence of the Pipe, if, for instance, they had lost a relative. A crying baby was never allowed in the lodge with the Pipe. As soon as the infant started to cry it was taken out. [854] If, as previously noted, a man who had a young wife with a baby took the Pipe, she and the infant would be sent out of the Pipe lodge to a nearby lodge.

[231] Dogs were never allowed to enter the lodge where the Pipe was. If the keeper or co-keeper owned a dogskin robe, the rules forbade their using it.

The people were not allowed to go to the keeper's lodge to get fire, as they used to go to other lodges in the early morning.

[264] Breaking bones to extract marrow was prohibited in the keeper's lodge. If this were done, some accident, such as the breaking of a leg or arm, would happen to some relative of the keeper [or of the delinquent?].

The door of the keeper's lodge had to be kept closed, and the back cover of the lodge could not be lifted up in the warm summertime to get air.

[726] A war party before starting off would sing at the door of each clan chief's lodge, but not at the door of the keeper's.

When people went to the keeper's lodge for a social smoke and feast, they had to keep their wits about them and watch their speech carefully lest they should unthinkingly tell lies, vulgar or obscene stories, or start a war-deed contest.

There was a very strict prohibition against telling lies in the keeper's lodge.

784 517 If two men, while in the keeper's lodge, forgot themselves and started a war-deed contest, the keeper would remind them: "You are mistaken in talking so in here. Now you will have to continue for three days and nights." During this time all who were present when the slip was first made had to stay day and night in the lodge of the keeper, who would provide them with food and tobacco. These listeners would egg on and laughingly banter the two contestants and decide on the winner. After a while the pair's

784 517 fund of war exploits would be apt to give out, and the two would begin talking about trifling occurrences in camp, personal reminiscences about their marriages, and so forth. Everybody had a good time at such a three-day session.

Neither the keeper nor others were permitted to tell folk-tales of the vulgar or obscene Ni:hɔhat type in the former's lodge. If a member of a visiting group inadvertently broke the rule, a three-day session similar to the war-deed one above was prescribed, during which he had to continue telling such tales.

778 696 If a murder of a fellow-tribesman had been committed in camp, and the murdered person's relatives were about to kill the murderer in revenge, the latter could run to and take refuge in the keeper's lodge and was safe so long, but only so long, as he stayed there. The avengers dared not enter it to kill, but immunity ceased so soon as the murderer left the lodge.

624 361 There is general agreement among our informants that the keeper's lodge was pitched in a prominent place, but exactly where in the camp circle is a controverted point we did not succeed in clearing up. According to one tradition, it occupied the place of honor in the circle, toward the northwest—opposite the circle's opening which was toward the southeast or the rising sun,—regardless of where the keeper's band camped in the circle. Three, however, of our oldest informants, Coming Daylight, Takes-the-Bow, and Turn-Toes, held that the keeper remained with his band, the first two of the three stating that his lodge was pitched a little in front of his band toward the center of the circle.

Prerogatives and Restrictions of Keepership

793 The office of keepership carried with it on the one hand a great many special rights, privileges, prerogatives and powers and on the other a great many restrictions, obligations, responsibilities and sacrifices. The following list is undoubtedly incomplete, as new ones were still being revealed when our field work came to an end,[*] but it probably includes most of them. They functionally accord with sacred and high dignity of the keepership, the supernatural power attached to it, the lofty ethical behavior and "as-

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[*] Kroeber, 1908, p. 273, has some we did not get.

ceticism" expected of the keeper, his status as one set apart from 793
his fellows, and his political and civil role in the Gros Ventre theocracy. We shall classify and treat them in this order, although some of them do not fit too neatly into any one of the five or six categories, and some straddle two or more of them. Incidentally, in many cases these refer to the co-keeper as well, although our field notes mention only the keeper.

The keeper and co-keeper of the Flat Pipe held a very sacred [778]
office of great eminence, and their persons and everything on or about them were considered holy. They themselves were expected always to behave in a dignified manner becoming their exalted and sacred position, and others were obliged to show them due respect.

The keeper and co-keeper were not permitted "to do foolish [784]
things like other people." They could not, for instance, take part [577]
in gossip or other petty meanness. They were obligated as well to many ethical, "ascetic" and ritual observances to be described presently.

Marked respect was due them from their fellow-tribesmen. As [795]
The Boy put it, the Gros Ventres, now all Catholics, "had just the same great respect for the keeper and his wife as they now have for the priests and nuns."

People had to keep their distance from the keeper and co-keeper, 793
and could not sit close to them, or touch, grab or wrestle with 784
them. Apparently, however, they could shake hands with them. If the keeper asked anyone to hand him something, the object had to be passed by hand, not thrown to him; if it were thrown toward the keeper on the ground and he had to pick it up, some accident would befall either the keeper or the thrower.

If anyone stepped over the outstretched feet or legs of the sitting keeper or co-keeper, the guilty party would at once fall in a fit, or get cramps and could be cured only by the offended keeper or co-keeper. Likewise, if the keeper, intentionally or unintentionally, stepped over the outstretched legs of a sitting person, the person would get fits or cramps and could be cured only by the keeper.

If the keeper or an ex-keeper had the Flat Pipe or even a com-

793 mon pipe in his hands, it was forbidden for anyone to pass in front
784 of him, under penalty of some evil befalling the culprit.

If a person, wanting something in a hurry from the keeper, such as meat or a bit of tobacco, just poked his (or her) head in the door of the keeper's lodge and made his request, no one inside would answer him. He would have to go all the way in, proceeding clockwise, make his request, and go out clockwise, not back out.

When the co-keeper gave a visitor something to eat in the Pipe lodge, the receiver had to eat it there and not take it out, unless someone told war stories. No one was allowed to take or grab anything seen in the Pipe lodge.

The keeper and co-keeper were by virtue of their office "holy"
778 persons, that is, endowed with supernatural powers. Some of these
782 powers were related directly to their main task as custodians of the Pipe, leaders in its ritual, and intercessors with the supernatural world, and will be described under the ritual of the Pipe. Others were conferred on them at or subsequent to the transfer rite, partly to enable them to command the respect due them, partly to give them supernatural efficiency for their own or their people's advantage,—the former being mostly powers to harm, the latter mostly powers to help.

793 If anyone were guilty of disrespect to the keeper or co-keeper,
754 there were several avenging procedures to which they could resort.

During the transfer rite, the keeper and co-keeper were taught some form of cursing, so they would be properly respected. If they wished evil on anyone, the evil would come to pass. Deer, an ex-keeper who gave Lame Bull much of the latter's coaching for the keepership, told him after his mouth had been consecrated: "Be careful what you say. For if you utter an evil wish on anybody, the wish will come true." This power, it may be added, is more or less of a piece with the commonly possessed efficacy attributed in Gros Ventre idealogy to serious good or evil wish-thought. (See pp. 364-370.)

Deer also taught Lame Bull in his early keepership another harming power, but cautioned him not to use it unless someone failed to show proper respect to him as keeper. This power worked by "sympathetic" magic. Deer asked for a little pup and a piece of sinew. When these were brought he said: "Leave the pup near

the door." Deer then in both hands held the sinew stretched taut 793
horizontally over a smoldering chip and sang a song special to this 754
rite, ending it with a recitative "Yo!" Then he lowered the sinew and repeated the song and "Yo," then lowered still more and repeated, concluding with "Yo, ho, ho, ho!" and finally put the sinew on the burning chip. As the sinew burned and buckled, the pup doubled up with cramps and died.

Another power, conferred for use by the keeper in case of disrespect committed against him, worked by "contagious" magic. [789]
The keeper watched the offender closely and made sure to locate his tracks, and then took out of the pipe bundle and put on his ritual moccasins the soles of which had been rubbed during the transfer rite with the poisonous wild parsley. Then, wearing the moccasins he stepped in the offender's tracks. As soon as he did so, the offender got a fit and then his legs and feet became weak and wobbly and nobody but the keeper could cure him.

The co-keeper for the same punitive purpose in case of disrespect or molestation carried wild parsley mixed with peppermint leaves in the sack attached to her belt, but we obtained no information on the precise procedure she used.

Two punitive procedures were told The Boy by his father but without full details. These "vulgar" powers were not broadcast but were kept more or less secret within the inner circle of the Flat Pipe.

If a woman disrespected a keeper or caused him great embarrassment, he carried out a special rite over or toward her, obliged [833
her to submit to sex intercourse with him, and afterwards carried 786]
out a concluding rite. If some young man went so far as to flirt with her, make advances and touch her, he would get ill, and she alone could doctor him back to health. If he went so far as to have sexual intercourse with her, he would probably die.

As regards all the foregoing punitive and harming powers, it was strictly understood that the keeper and co-keeper were given them to use only to enforce respect, and that if used for other and evil purposes the users would pay dearly and would be punished in some way, through the death of their children or through other misfortune. 793

Besides these supernatural powers to command respect, other 755

783 powers, intended more for the positive advantage of the keeper or
755 his people, were customarily acquired during or after the transfer rite.

In the transfer rite the new keeper was taught how to doctor, especially in cases of fits, spasms and cramps. The peppermint
[278] beverage, now used by everybody for these maladies, was formerly a monopoly of the Flat Pipe keeper in his curing practice. Other doctoring powers were also conferred on him and he could use the hair rope from the Flat Pipe bundle as a potent medicine to cure with, but we could obtain no details on these points.

The keeper would pray to have good dreams and might sleep
[787] on the Pipe bed for the same purpose. His dreams, when told, were important news for his fellows, as through them the future could be foretold.

789 The keeper was also given power to summon, call or "snare"
from a distance, enemies or reluctant friends. The Boy gave two
793 instances of the use of this power, both from the lips of his father, Lame Bull. When Lame Bull, on learning of his election as Flat Pipe keeper fled to the hills, the ex-keeper so summoned him, using the Flat Pipe itself in the rite. The nine Flat Pipe songs were sung and at the end of each, the ex-keeper holding the Pipe at arm's length in both hands with the stem pointed upward and outward, sang the Hair Rope song, then twisted the stem tip in a vertical near-circle first upward and outward and then inward and downward in a sort of beckoning motion as if drawing something toward him, then downward and finally lowered the bowl toward (or to?) the ground.

On a later occasion during Lame Bull's keepership, on a war
[726] expedition against the Piegan he learned in a dream where they were located and was told that five of them would be killed. The night before the attack on the Piegan, using a common pipe and the above calling rite, thrice performed, with the pipe stem pointed toward the distant Piegan camp, invisible at the time to the Gros Ventre party, and singing the Hair Rope song, he "called" five of the Piegan, who, separated from the main Piegan body, were killed by the Gros Ventres.

793 The keeper and co-keeper also were given power to use in hunt-
224 ing buffalo, but we were able to obtain no details on the rite. The

793 224 one occasion for which we obtained the account of Lame Bull's resort to this power, it failed to work.

793 726 789 The keeper likewise received power to use in case his horse played out during a war raid. In the 1868 battle with the Piegan, Lame Bull's horse stepped into a hole and fell at a moment when he was surrounded by Piegan. Two young Gros Ventre warriors, sons-in-law of Lame Bull, came to him. His horse got up but could not run, and in fact fell again. One of the young warriors said to him: "I thought the Flat Pipe was everything. Why don't you save yourself. The Piegan will kill all three of us." Lame Bull, keeper at the time, took some peppermint from the small bag tied to his whip, put it in his mouth, sang a certain song, spat on his hands, stroked his whip handle three times with his palm, made motions three times as if striking his horse, and the third time actually struck the horse. At this, the horse came to life as if fresh and started running, and Lame Bull got home safely.

793 789 Still another power conferred on the keeper was that of getting possession of a horse by obtaining a single hair thereof. Horses entered into the Feathered Pipe complex, not into the Flat Pipe one. But the Flat Pipe keeper could not be refused a request for a horse or horses made by him of anyone. Moreover, even though he did not directly make such a request, if he wanted a certain good horse, he could ask one of his relatives or good friends, surreptitiously and preferably by night, to pluck one hair from the horse's tail and bring it to him. The keeper would then perform some rite (details not obtainable by us) over the hair and put the hair in the Flat Pipe bundle, and pretty soon he would acquire the desired horse. It may be added that when the keeper walked near or around anybody's horse, he was watched suspiciously for fear that unobserved he would pluck a hair from the horse's tail.

793 In addition to these specific supernatural powers, the keeper and co-keeper were given a great number of ritual powers, the right and duty to carry out certain ceremonies directly or indirectly related to the Pipe and its keepership. These will be described later under "Ritual."

In accordance with their sacred office and eminent dignity, with their role as benevolent intercessors for the people with the super-

793 natural world and as beneficent helpers of their people, and the lofty ethical behavior and magnanimity demanded by the Gros Ventres' code in individuals of prominence in secular as well as in sacred activities, the Flat Pipe keeper and co-keeper were expected in general to live lives strictly conformed to the Gros
793 Ventre ethical code and in particular to be generous and to repress
431 aggressive impulses. The people would ordinarily be generous to them. For instance, after a successful buffalo hunt the killer or killers would share the spoils with them. But they themselves were under special obligations of generosity. If, for example, a person came to the keeper's lodge and, observing the rule above mentioned of going all the way inside, asked the keeper for something, the latter had to comply with the request and could not refuse it, and in actuality hardly ever refused. If the keeper lacked what was requested, he had to give the petitioner something else, for the latter would not be sent away empty-handed. This custom did not, it seems, lead to abuse and the keeper was not imposed upon. The keeper and his wife were required to be especially generous in providing feasts from time to time and in giving food to callers. Whenever any one came to the keeper's lodge to make an offering to the Pipe, the donor was fed.

When a man became keeper all grudges held by or toward him
793 and the co-keeper were wiped away. They could no longer make
785 their enemies the target of abuse or revenge, and vice versa.

As mentioned above, to command respect they could use the powers previously described, although at the risk of ensuing penalties. But for the rest, they were strictly forbidden to lose their tempers with, or show anger toward, anyone and particularly to strike anyone. If they wished evil on anyone, the evil would come to pass. If in a fit of anger they forgot themselves and hit or whipped a person, or even a dog or horse, the victim would be paralyzed. Nor could they talk badly about people.

The keepership imposed many major and minor hardships, austerities, privations and inconveniences upon the keeper and co-keeper. These had not, so far as we can judge, an ascetic purpose proper, that is, spiritual or moral self-control and achievement through self-denial. They did however serve, not only to set apart the keeper and co-keeper from the rest of the tribe but

also to enhance their sacredness and intercessory role as well as 793
their prestige in the eyes of the people. Gros Ventre character-
ideals have a high rating to "strong-heartedness," ability to bear 785
and forego, readiness to do without, "asceticism" in its looser sense of voluntary self-punishment. Making one's self "pitiful" through hardships and privations in order to excite the sympathy of and to obtain blessings from the supernatural beings was a basic procedure in Gros Ventre religious practice. The keeper and co-keeper were expected to be sacred and powerful intercessors and to be individuals of high character.

In general the keeper and co-keeper had to lead very restricted lives, largely cut off from free association with their tribesmen, most of the time kept within or close to their lodge where the Pipe hung, and occupied with their official duties.

In particular they were under many specific privations and prohibitions. Perhaps the most severe of these was the obligation of sending away and thus practically giving up all their children, even their favorite one, except the one chosen as Pipe child. And ordinarily Gros Ventre parents were extremely fond of and attached to their children.

The keeper and co-keeper could not eat birds or bird eggs of 793
any kind, nor any part of the head, such as the tongue or brains,
of any quadruped. According to one tradition they could eat the 262
body but not the head of dogs; according to another, not even the body. On the occasion however of feasts connected with the Flat Pipe they could eat buffalo tongue. They apparently did not eat fish, but the eating of fish was uncommon anyhow among the Gros Ventres and some Gros Ventres did not eat it at all. There were other minor food taboos, according to The Boy, but he could not recall what they were.

The co-keeper was obliged to wear a robe or blanket all the 793
time, no small inconvenience during the Montana summer when
the temperature not infrequently rises to the 90's Fahrenheit in 785
the shade around midday and the afternoon. The prohibition 784
against the wearing of metal personal adornments by the keeper and co-keeper was previously noted.

The keeper and co-keeper were not allowed to comb their hair, nor to scratch their heads except with a scratching-stick. The

793 keeper (and probably the co-keeper too) could not cut his hair, but had to wear it tangled and disheveled.

785 The keeper and co-keeper were not permitted to bathe and
784 swim in the creeks,—this in contrast to the Gros Ventre custom of daily early morning bathing and swimming by both sexes the
[515] year round when not prevented by ice, as a cleansing, body-hardening and recreative practice. In fact, the two were not allowed to wash even their hands and face with water, but, according to The Boy, had to use instead fat, grease or oil, and to wipe them with the same muskrat skin they used in face painting.

[304] The keeper could not draw blood on his own person by cutting, as was done by others in the sweat lodge rite, in mourning, and on other occasions.

793 The keeper and co-keeper were not supposed to cry or to cut
784 their hair in case of the death of a relative, nor to go where any one lay dead, nor to have anything at all to do with a corpse. In particular they were not allowed to give clothes, at least their own, to put on a dead person. It was a breach of this last prohibition, in fact, that resulted in Lame Bull's lameness, and his subsequent sobriquet, Lame Bull, his proper name being Under Bull.[4]

The keeper and co-keeper could not gamble or be gambled with. If the keeper nevertheless did so and won, he won not only the wager, but also the life of his opponent. The latter would meet with some fatality unless the keeper agreed to avert the evil by
[755] performing the proper rite over him. The keeper would direct the man to build a sweat-lodge and would enter it with him. The man would fumigate himself and inhale the smudge. The keeper would rub the man all over from head to feet with sage.

The keeper was not allowed just to throw off his saddle or blankets onto the ground but had to take good care of them.

According to Coming Daylight, a keeper during his term of office "could not sing the songs he was supposed to sing," but we secured no clarification of this statement. The reference may be to songs previously gotten in quests for supernatural power.

In addition to the foregoing more or less restrictive or "ascetic" observances that served to set the keeper and co-keeper apart from

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[4] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 201.

their fellows, there were many other ones that fulfilled the same 793
function. Of these latter, some, more distinctively ritual, will be 784
dealt with later passim under "Flat Pipe Ritual"; others, more secular, may be mentioned now.

The keeper and co-keeper were not supposed to carry a pack [482]
on their own backs, except that on the march the Pipe bundle might be packed by the co-keeper.

They could not mount and dismount a horse on the same side, but mounted from the right side and dismounted from the left.

If you handed something to the keeper it became his property, and if he handed something to you it became yours. If you thoughtlessly left anything with the keeper or co-keeper to keep for you, —if, for instance, you said: "Here, hold my horse (or my gun)," —the object became the property of the keeper or co-keeper and could not be gotten back. The keeper and co-keeper never loaned [426]
their robes, dresses, moccasins or other belongings, unless asked, and they were not supposed to be asked to loan. If you thoughtlessly broke the code and asked to borrow something from them, they were obliged to give it to you to own.

Neither the keeper nor co-keeper was allowed to handle ashes, nor could the Pipe bundle remain in the keeper's lodge when ashes were taken out. Were this rule violated, the keeper or co-keeper or both would lose eyesight. When ashes were to be removed from the keeper's lodge, the Pipe bundle was taken outside the lodge by the co-keeper, and both the keeper and the co-keeper stayed outside, while another of the keeper's wives removed the ashes.

When a group of men were seated in a crescent or near-circle 276
enjoying a purely social smoke together, each took a puff from 793
the lighted pipe and passed it clockwise to the man on his left until it reached the end of the line. Then the pipe would be passed back anti-clockwise from hand to hand to the other end without anyone puffing from it. But if the keeper were in the group, he could take a puff not only when the pipe was passing him clockwise but also on its anti-clockwise return. The man passing the pipe to the keeper from either left or right had to raise it upward a little toward his own right before doing so. The first time the pipe reached the keeper, he would take a big puff, and point

276 793 the pipe stem and blow the smoke first upward and then downward, and after that would smoke like anyone else.

793 624 In general, religious and political life were closely interwoven in the Gros Ventre theocracy. "The Pipes [both the Flat and The Feathered]," as The Boy expressed it, "seemed to hold the tribe together more or less." They were the most sacred and revered possessions of the tribe. The keepers were men of eminence, by virtue of their personal qualities and achievements as well as of their office. In view of these and other facts, it is to be expected that the keeper of the Flat Pipe played a role in Gros Ventre [562] political life, a role however not shared except in a minimal degree by the co-keeper, a woman in a man-dominated sphere of action. The keeper's role in Gros Ventre political life was fairly clearly defined and delimited. Here we shall summarize the main points.

When camp was to be moved, the decision as to time and destination was mainly in the hands of the head men, although the keeper would participate. In some cases, it seems, he might initiate the move by calling the head men together, usually at night. The whole decision was not ordinarily announced by the crier or criers. He would be sent around to notify the people that all would move camp the next morning. They by looking toward the keeper's lodge in the morning would learn the direction in which the camp would move, for the Flat Pipe bundle would be taken out of the lodge, to the north thereof, and hung on its tripod, with the stem end pointing in the agreed upon direction of the trek. On the trek itself, the co-worker with the bundle led the cavalcade.

When the bands scattered for the winter after the fall hunt and for the late spring after the first spring hunts, usually both the Flat and Feathered Pipes attracted a large following.

The keeper could be invited to sit in important council meetings, and to participate in elections and in decisions involving policy or action and had a certain veto prerogative thereon. He could, on occasions at least, intercede with considerable power, to resolve conflicts and avert bloodshed. He could accompany war-parties and might even have a voice in strategy and tactics, but he was not *ex officio* a fighter or war-leader. He could, as previously mentioned, afford asylum in his lodge to criminals. All 793 in all, he wielded very considerable influence in the political life 624 of his people, but he was in no sense a dictator.

While a good many of the prerogatives and restrictions attaching to the keeper and co-keeper ceased when their term of office ended, others automatically continued, beyond the period of keepership or, as regards restrictions, could be and often were voluntarily continued by the ex-keepers. Most of such cessations and continuances on which we obtained specific information have been explicitly or inexplicitly noted in the preceding pages.

FLAT PIPE AND BUNDLE: DESCRIPTION

The proper name of the Flat Pipe was θe:tsa. It was also 778 called bä'ɔno (turtle), the turtle having played such an important 276 role in the first making of dry land after the flood (for story see No. 3 in Appendix), and a turtle shell ranking next in dignity to the Flat Pipe itself in the Flat Pipe bundle. Bä'ɔno was used in an appealing, pleading or begging way.

The Flat Pipe bundle containing the Flat Pipe and other sacred objects could not be unwrapped and opened except on solemn ceremonial occasions and with the appropriate elaborate rites. The last such occasion was on February 6, 1946, when it was impossible for us to be present and when photographs taken turned out badly. Our description, therefore, of the Pipe and of the other contents of the bundle has to rest on detailed accounts given us by our various informants who had witnessed one or more openings, upon sketches of the Pipe drawn by The Boy in 1939, by Thomas Main in 1938 or 1939 (after an opening in 1938) and by a young high school student, Frank Cuts The Rope in 1946 (after the above 1946 opening), and upon dimensions given by Thomas Main (See fig. 1).

The Flat Pipe itself is of wood, in a perfect state of preservation, carved in one piece, light brown or almost tan in color, very smooth as if polished from long and frequent wrapping, and about 18½ inches long. The bowl is round, low or squat, and flaring, 3⅛ inches in diameter on top with the hole for the tobacco about ½ inch in diameter, 2½ inches in diameter at its

778 276 base, and 2⅓ inches in depth from top to bottom. The stem is roundish in section, about 1½ inches in diameter at the distal end, tapering slightly to about 1⅛ toward the proximal. The stem is "humped a bit toward the middle," with a ring carved all round to which is attached a small tasseled string ornament believed to represent the hair rope with which He-who-starved-to-death snared the Red Bird. (For story see No. 5 in Appendix.) The [283] Gros Ventre women used to make an adornment from "a growth looking like hair" which they gathered from the water and twisted into a strong thread, and The Boy thinks that this tasseled ornament on the Pipe is of the same material.

There is another ring carved around and the proximal end of the Pipe is carved in the shape of a "duck" head. Into the "duck's" bill is fitted a small stem,—about 1⅛ inches long and ¼ inch in diameter, projecting about ½ inch beyond the tip of the bill, encased in copper,—from which the Pipe was smoked.[a]

[532]

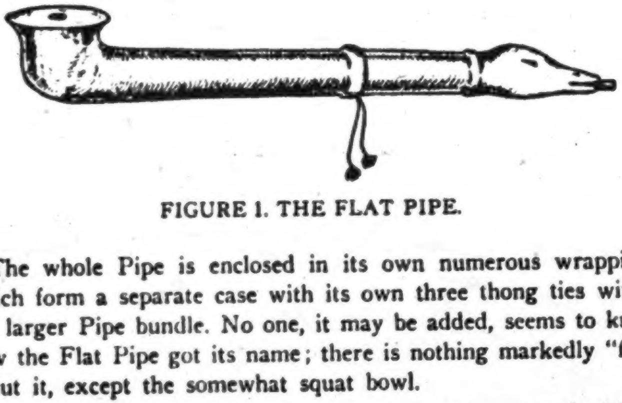

FIGURE 1. THE FLAT PIPE.

The whole Pipe is enclosed in its own numerous wrappings which form a separate case with its own three thong ties within the larger Pipe bundle. No one, it may be added, seems to know how the Flat Pipe got its name; there is nothing markedly "flat" about it, except the somewhat squat bowl.

778 The whole Pipe bundle contains many other sacred objects

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[a] Kroeber, 1908, p. 272, gives a description of the Flat Pipe as being made of catlinite with the bowl in the shape of a person. Actually this sounds more like one of the objects in the Feathered Pipe bundle,—the so-called Image or Human Face. See p. 142. Kroeber's mention of a string around the center of the stem of the Flat Pipe, however, matches the description given us. [R.F.]

besides the Pipe itself. The most important of these is a turtle shell, next in rank a "duck" pelt, and third a muskrat skin.[*] These represent the animals sent down by Earthmaker at the time of the great flood to dive for earth. The turtle and "duck" are more important than the muskrat as they were the only two who brought back earth. There is no beaver skin in the bundle; either it was barred or discarded, or, as The Boy put it, "the beaver must have gotten mad and started his own pipe and pipe rite." (Cf. under "Other Pipes," pp. 166-168.) 778

The turtle shell is kept enclosed in its own special case. Neither The Boy nor his father Lame Bull had ever seen this shell, which is said not to have been taken from its case and exposed since the early nineteenth century.

The "duck" is apparently, from the detailed description given us of plumage and habits, a grebe. This bird has a special sacredness in Gross Ventre thought on account of its part not only in the primeval making of dry land but also in present-day bird migration.

According to tradition, when the birds, who in the fall have gone where there is no winter, want in the spring to come back they talk the matter over and plan the flight to the north. On the migration flight the grebes, who are poor flyers, are carried on the backs of the larger birds such as the ducks, geese and cranes. The big bird is careful not to drop the little bird; if he does, he will have bad luck. If the small bird is killed by the fall, the big bird does not live long. When in migration one of the big birds breaks rank and flies around alone, the Gros Ventres know that he has lost his passenger, and it is up to him alone to find the dropped bird. Sometimes you can see a big bird hovering round the spot where he has dropped his small passenger, looking for him in order to pick him up again, and catch up with the 825

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[*] In 1948 The Boy explained: "The muskrat and the beaver tried to bring back earth but failed. Beaver was banished from any connection with the Pipe. The keeper would not let anyone who used the beaver-castor perfume come near him or his lodge. But muskrat was taken back without ceremonial significance for no other purpose than to wipe the keeper's face, as well as faces of others, before the keeper painted them. So muskrat is still in the bundle and shares indirectly in the great Pipe ceremonies." [R.F.] [302]

825 migrating flock. When you hear the cries of the migrating geese, if you listen closely you can hear also the calls of the little birds. The big birds are very willing to carry the little ones, as the former get "holy things" and "are taught holy [powerful] ways" by the latter in payment for the ride, for the grebe is known to be a "big shot" who has extraordinary powers. The grebe in the Flat Pipe bundle is one of these little birds that are carried by the large ones on the fall and spring migration flight. In the
778 bundle too are some feathers of the big birds. "Probably because they treat the grebe to a free ride, they bought their way into the bundle and so have a place of honor."

In the bundle, besides the turtle shell and grebe skin, are the dried pelts (not stuffed) of many other kinds of birds,—some of which The Boy cannot identify. These represent the birds who sang with joy at the first making of dry land after the flood. These bird pelts lie loose, not enclosed in a bag. In the olden times, Lame Bull told The Boy, the tobacco raised by the Pipe keeper was stored in these pelts for safe-keeping.

When the bundle is being wrapped, the Pipe enclosed and tied in its own case, is laid on these bird pelts as on a bed, with the turtle shell to the left of the Pipe "as you face the stem," and the grebe skin to the right. Turtle shell, grebe skin and bird pelts are all placed with the head toward the stem end of the Pipe, and are wrapped together with the Pipe in a special covering within the larger Pipe bundle proper.

The large bundle also contains a good-sized bag, rectangular and closed on three sides, in which are kept all or most of them in their own particular small cases or coverings, the following ritual articles: a muskrat skin representing the muskrat that dived unsuccessfully for earth at the flood, and used in the face-painting rite; paint and a painting stamp; supplies of peppermint and tobacco; rattles; the ritual moccasins of the keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child; a thunderstone;[7] the "official" shell necklace of the keeper and co-keeper; a rope made of hair from the head and legs of buffalo, either the actual snare with which He-Who-Starved-To-Death captured the evil Red Bird or a substitute therefor. 778

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[7] In the bundle there was a thunderstone encased in its own small bundle or
[755] sack. If, for instance, a person were suffering from stomach-ache, the co-keeper would reach into the Pipe bundle, without unwrapping it, take out the thunderstone, smudge it, make motions with or bite it, spit on the

This rectangular bag with its contents has its own prescribed place in the whole Pipe bundle, namely, to the right of the case containing the Pipe, turtle, grebe and bird skins as you look from the stem and toward the bowl end.

Finally, in the large Pipe bundle, are or were two sticks of about the length of the bundle, covered with two pieces of cloth. These are about the last outermost things set in place when the whole bundle is wrapped. The ends of the cloths in which the sticks are tied project out of the bundle as a decoration. They could be extracted from the bundle and taken along on war expeditions as a substitute for it and the Pipe, and used in a simplified ritual in place of the Pipe. The Pipe bundle itself was not taken on a war raid, as the co-keeper was the only one who was allowed to carry it, as it was rather heavy and bulky, and as there was danger it might be captured by the enemy. [726]

All the articles that have been listed are finally enclosed in the outermost cover of the whole Pipe bundle. This cover is nearly round when laid flat made of a whole elk skin with the legs cut off. The bundle is more or less cylindrical, cigar or blimp-shaped, about 1½ feet in diameter at the center and about 3 feet long. The bundle is secured with three ties of thong, one in the middle and one at either end, and has a thong handle on it, like the handle of a traveling bag. (See Plate 2A.)

Over the whole bundle was laid a robe of albino or "beaver" buffalo skin. When the bundle was to be untied this robe was spread out and the bundle was laid on it. The albino-buffalo tail, used by the keeper in the sweat-lodge rite, was kept outside, not inside, the bundle, so it could be easily gotten.

In modern times, from about 1870 to 1932, a human scalp was

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person's stomach, and so forth, with a very simple ritual. A retiring keeper had the right to select something out of the Pipe bundle and keep it. Lame Bull, on retiring, selected a thunderstone of animal-like shape. Cf. Kroeber, 1908, pp. 275-76. [755]

778 attached to the outside of the Flat Pipe bundle. In the late 1860's the Gros Ventres were at war with the Piegan and Blood Indians. During the war, a party of Gros Ventres were massacred on Judith River, including the husband of Lame Bull's sister, and her 778 small son was badly wounded. Lame Bull, then keeper of the 726 Flat Pipe, said: "I'll make the Piegan pay for what they have done to my nephew." So shortly after this, he got together a party of warriors and, taking with him the above-mentioned double-stick substitute for the Flat Pipe, led them to the Piegan country, to the other side of the Cypress Hills on or near Belly River. It was on this expedition that Lame Bull had the three sweat lodges made (to be described later) and used his snaring or summoning power as keeper to call the five enemy victims promised him in a dream. One of the young Gros Ventre warriors, Fur Moccasin, said to the substitute for the Flat Pipe: "Little Turtle, in this fight I want to do something great. If you will see to it that I count coup by getting a scalp I will turn it over to you." This was equivalent to a vow, for he would have to risk his life to get a scalp. Another young warrior said: "Flat Pipe, in this fight I want to do something great. If I get a horse I will turn it over to you."

After the summoning rite, Lame Bull detailed two young warriors to go out as scouts the next morning, before daybreak so they would not be observed on the way by the enemy, to a certain butte, and to watch and wait. Shortly after daybreak the two scouts saw five of the enemy who were out hunting buffalo, and returned to give their report. Near the Gros Ventre camp, to the west, was a small herd of buffalo. So Lame Bull said: "The Piegan will spy the buffalo and make for them. We will wait till they make their kill and are dressing the meat." The Piegan went past the Gros Ventre without observing them and killed the buffalo. The Gros Ventres then sneaked up toward the Piegan as close as the level open country would permit, without their being seen. Lame Bull said: "Don't yell. Take after them as though you are racing." As the Gros Ventres came rushing on they came up first to one of the Piegan who had tied his horse to the leg of a killed buffalo and who, in the excitement forgetting this, jumped on his

horse and started off but at the end of the rope was stopped and 778
thrown. Fur Moccasin killed and scalped him then and there. 726
Then the Gros Ventres took after the other four Piegan. The second Piegan was killed and his horse captured by the young warrior who had promised a horse to the Flat Pipe. The other three Piegan were also killed. The Gros Ventre suffered no casualties in the fight.

When the battle was over, Fur Moccasin turned over the Piegan scalp to Lame Bull: "Here's the scalp which I promised for the Flat Pipe." The other young warrior who had promised the horse likewise turned it over: "Here's the horse which I promised for the Flat Pipe."

Some time after this fight, peace was made between the Gros Ventres and the Piegan, and the Gros Ventres learned the Piegan side of the incident. The Piegan (or Blood) had planned to hold a Sun Dance. So they selected four men to go out and kill a bull buffalo for the dance. One old man of his own volition went along in order to get some of the internal organs for himself. After the five had set out, the Piegan waited in vain all the next day till nightfall for them to return and finally concluded that they must have met with misfortune. The next morning the Piegan set out in the direction in which the five had gone and, judging by the actions of carrion crows and buzzards, discovered the five corpses. The Gros Ventres by this time were a long way off. The Sun Dance was given up. The four younger Piegan killed were noted men.

The Piegan scalp was tied to the outside of the Flat Pipe 727.
bundle. The donor, Fur Moccasin, by giving the scalp, became an 778
enemy-friend of the Flat Pipe, which role gave him the right to go pretty far in taunting and saying things about it, as was the wont between enemy-friends.[8] But only he, and no one else could take such liberties.

The scalp remained attached to the outside of the bundle. The 778
Boy, who knew this, always felt that this was not right, because the bundle had great religious significance whereas the scalp was something of an entirely different order and did not belong with

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[8] For details on enemy-friends, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 102-06.

778 the bundle. He wanted to take the scalp off and throw it away. But Lame Bull held that it should stay where it was, for since it was given by Fur Moccasin to the Flat Pipe in fulfillment of a vow and since Fur Moccasin and the Flat Pipe were enemy-friends, its presence involved no real lack of respect to the Pipe.

When, however, in later years the Flat Pipe came into unofficial possession of The Boy, his prejudice against it had not abated. Since he had authority in the matter, he gave the scalp in about 1932 to John Galen Carter who, The Boy was told, finally turned it over to Columbia University or to the American Museum of Natural History. The Boy laughingly remarked that if he had foreseen that he would be giving us the whole record of Gros Ventre history and culture he would have saved the scalp and given it to Cooper and so Cooper would have become the enemy-friend of Fur Moccasin!

[492] The Flat Pipe always, as in the above case, had its own horse on which it was packed and which was not used for any other purpose or ridden by the keeper or anyone else, except, it appears, once in a while by the co-keeper who would take the bundle on her back and ride the horse. The Flat Pipe's horse was painted red on its forehead and down to the end of its mane, and also on the top of its rump at the base of the tail, as were also all things used to transport the Pipe,—its special saddle, blanket, outfit, tripod and so forth.[a]

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[a] In 1948 The Boy added that the keeper could use in addition to red paint another kind "of a dirty slate color and no one else in the tribe used it." [R.F.]

CHAPTER III

THE FLAT PIPE RITUAL

General Features

Before describing the Flat Pipe rituals in detail, we shall in 788
the interest of clarity take up certain more general features. Some of these are distinctive of the Flat Pipe ritual; others are shared in common with the Feathered Pipe ritual.

Distinctive of the Flat Pipe ritual are earth and water or flood 788
association, peppermint, the number three, and rattles. 821

As The Boy put it: "The Flat Pipe belongs on the ground, on
the surface of the earth, while the Feathered Pipe belongs up above 823
the earth." Or in Coming Daylight's words: "The Flat Pipe comes from the water." The reference here is to the respective origin stories of the two pipes, the Flat Pipe having been given by Earthmaker at the great flood after dry land was made, the Feathered Pipe by Bha'a, the thunder being, during a storm and from the sky. (For details see Nos. 3 and 6 in Appendix.) When the Flat Pipe ceremony was carried out in 1938, the ritual was badly garbled, and the proper offerings were not made. A very destructive flood which shortly after this occurred at Hays where the ceremony was held was attributed to the ill treatment to which the Flat Pipe had just been submitted. The Feathered Pipe is associated with thunderstorms rather than with floods.

In conformity with this ground and water association, the ritual 788
plant used for laving, chewing and incensing in the Flat Pipe
ritual was peppermint which "comes from the lowlands down on 824
the ground," "from right along the water," in contrast to the use in the Feathered Pipe and other pipe rituals of sweet-pine needles which "come from up in the hills," "from high altitudes." The peppermint used was not "just every peppermint," not that which grows along streams but that which grows around springs. Coming Daylight used to pick it for her uncle when he was keeper of the

788 824 Flat Pipe. It was dried before being used for ritual purposes. In the olden days the Flat Pipe keeper and co-keeper had monopolistic control of it in curing. But nowadays a peppermint beverage, good for fits, spasms, and stomach disorder, is used by everybody.

788 801 The ritual number of the Flat Pipe is three, whereas that of the Feathered Pipe and the Sacred Lodges is four. Songs are sung three times, ritual gestures are in threes, and so forth. The old people when sitting around smoking socially used often to discuss the reason for this. Some held that Earthmaker sent only three animals down to dive for earth, because, for one reason at least, there were only three animals in the Flat Pipe bundle. Others held he sent four. But regardless of these opposing views on this point in the earthmaking, there was always complete agreement that the Flat Pipe ritual number itself was three, while that in the Feathered Pipe and Sacred Lodge rituals was four.

788 534 The musical instrument proper to the Flat Pipe ritual was the rattle (see Plate 1C). The drum, proper to the Feathered Pipe ritual, was not used. In the Flat Pipe ritual, the rattle was shaken clockwise in a sort of circle at breast height, whereas medicine men shook their rattles anti-clockwise and Star Dancers alternately back and forth.[1]

788 276 It may be added here that while the Flat Pipe was actually smoked only when it was being ritually transferred to a new keeper and when some individual had vowed to smoke it, and was never danced with, smoking the Feathered Pipe and dancing with it were common.

788 Among the more significant and more commonly recurring features shared by both the Flat Pipe and Feathered Pipe rituals were clockwise movements, singing, and the use of paint, buffalo chips, and of sage, tobacco, larb, and wild parsley.

Entering and leaving the keeper's lodge, ritual gestures, and so forth were consistently clockwise.

788 533 Singing bulked large in the Flat Pipe rite, and, for that matter, in nearly every phase of Gros Ventre religious and social life. As Thomas Main put it speaking for himself and The Boy: "We cannot describe how much singing means in the lives of the Gros

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[1] For description of Star Dance, see Flannery, 1953, p. 42.

Ventres. They *sing!* This subject is one you cannot exhaust. You cannot put in words how they feel about it." 788 533

Singing, according to The Boy, had its origin at the time of the flood when Earthmaker was floating around on the raft with the Flat Pipe. He was being blown around by the wind, at the mercy of the elements. He was tired and utterly lonely. So he started to think: "I must do something about this. It is too hard. I have had enough of it." And thus he planned the making of dry land by sending the animals diving down for earth. He had all the power to make land from the bits of earth brought up by the turtle and hell-diver, but he decided to do the making solemnly and with dignity. So he composed the earthmaking song: "My holiness (or my power) respond to me (pity me)." He did not whisper or talk it, but sang it, and sang it loud, so that he could be heard all over, so that this first act would last forever, so that it would "be elaborate and have dignity" and would be respected and honored for all time. Up to the moment of the singing of this first song, he had been mute, silent; he had only thought, this was the first utterance. This was the origin of Gros Ventre singing. This song, taught them by Earthmaker, was the first their primeval ancestors ever sang. This first song was sung by Earthmaker four times in succession, to the east, south, west and north. But after [788] this he discarded one of the four animals, the beaver, keeping the other three, and ordained that thenceforth, not four as in the very beginning, but three, should be the Flat Pipe sacred number, and its songs should be sung in threes and multiples thereof, and that ritual movements should be to east, south and west, leaving out the north as he had left out the beaver ("let the beaver stay there where it is cold"). 773 533

So Earthmaker planned and taught the system of the Flat Pipe ritual, with songs proper to it that could not be sung on other occasions.

Singing was thus originally religious and sacred only. As time went on, songs were sung for other functions, social and political. Singing degenerated among the Gros Ventres and they fell farther and farther down until they made and sang songs for the most trivial things in their lives, and even unworthy things. On their 788 533

788 533 first contact with whites they found that among these latter too singing had in similar fashion degenerated.

Among the birds and animals it was otherwise. They continued to sing as they had done at the earthmaking. They held fast to the privilege given them and did not abuse it or let their singing degenerate. So it was that the Gros Ventres used to go to the tops of buttes, hills and high mountains and to streams and forests, begging these animals and birds to give them songs, and in this measure to restore singing to its former purpose and dignity. But later the Gros Ventres sometimes prevailed even upon the animals and birds to teach them "no-good songs."

Nevertheless in spite of all this badness and degeneration the Gros Ventres never lost sight of the fact that they depended on the Supreme Being for everything. So whenever they had occasion to pray and perform their ceremonies, they sang. And with such sacred singing was so intimately associated the use of the pipe [276 782] and tobacco that "one could hardly separate singing and pipe-smoking." In nearly all rites they entered in as a means of imploring the Supreme Being to grant the people's requests. The Gros Ventres learned by experience that if they sang and smoked and followed faithfully the rest of the Flat Pipe ritual, they could at least hope for a hearing by the Supreme Being. Smoking too, it may be added, like singing, later degenerated, a point to which we shall come presently.

533 Practically every Gros Ventre ceremony or social event began or was accompanied with song. And each of the many Gros Ventre songs had to be used on certain and only certain specified occasions. Thus, for example, it would not do at all to sing Pipe songs during social dances or in a hand game or at "good-time" gatherings. Each religious or secular occasion had its own song or set of songs. Very commonly a story teller would in the course of his or her narrative sing the song or songs the characters in the story were supposed to have sung.

Many Gros Ventre songs were wordless. In most of the worded ones, the words consisted of short pregnant phrases or sentences preceded and followed by wordless singing.

Two kinds of singers were recognized and distinguished: those who had good voices, and those who had knowledge of the

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melodies, wording, purpose, place, and meaning of many songs and could put the right feeling into their singing. The latter kind of singers were often the ones who taught the former how to sing correctly. One singer might be recognized as competent in religious or certain religious songs only, another for social songs only, and so forth. In each of the categories there were usually "one or several who were by far the best in bringing out this something in the song." Among the qualities of a good singer were and are: volume, clearness, wide range, sense of rhythm and ability to put life and feeling into the singing. Much too depended on "body motions, gestures, bodily interpretation, whole demeanor." Beating time too was an art; "anyone can take a stick and beat a drum but not everyone can beat it just right."

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Many of the songs, both ritual and secular, contain words or expressions the meaning of which is not known today, or, although the meaning is known, the words or expressions are no longer in secular use or else differ appreciably in form from those in use. For some songs, such as solemn religious ones, it was relatively unimportant whether the singer had a good melodious voice or not. In sacred songs the all-important thing was the ability to put the proper feeling into the singing, "to get the hearers to concentrate ears, eyes, mind and heart," whereas the singer who had only a good voice reached only the ears of the hearers.

"The old time songs," The Boy explained, "are very hard. You cannot learn them overnight. It is hard for the Gros Ventres today to learn the old, old songs, and most of the songs I sang for your records are from the old times. Especially difficult are the Flat Pipe songs. They just consume your breath, so to speak. You have to sing them very solemnly and it would not do to shake your voice. They are supposed to be serious. You can notice the difference in singers when several sing together; they [some of them] get out of breath. When Horse Capture was Flat Pipe keeper, at one ceremony he and I sang together, and the old fellow would get tired."

Among the most accomplished Gros Ventre singers of recent times are first of all The Boy himself, to whom we are indebted for 102 of the songs we recorded, and Charles Buckman, who sang 6 for us. The Boy mentioned, too, certain other renowned living

G 533 singers: Tom Bad Road, Charlie Arms, Mrs. Katie Matt Croft, and Mrs. Albert Perry. Apropos of the last two, it may be added that women frequently sang and sing with the men, and the latter "like it when the women join in because this makes the singing colorful and nice."[5]

G 386 The Gros Ventres used many kinds of paint; some of Indian, some of white man origin; some in secular, some only in ritual uses. Powdered paints of different colors were gotten from traders G [439] and were used to paint parfleches and, by the men, alone, never by the women, to paint their bodies. A yellow paint was also gotten from the Cheyenne or from Cheyenne territory. On one occasion Coming Daylight brought a lot of this yellow paint which she had gathered there and gave enough of it to a Gros Ventre man to paint his big lodge with it. These paints were not sacred. A black paint, obtained from the Standing Rock region, was used in making fine lines on parfleches. Only the old women who made and painted the parfleches were the ones that gathered it, but it was not so sacred as the red paint used in face painting.

G 788 386 [778] This sacred red face paint was in a class by itself, and was used in the Flat and Feathered Pipe rites, by the "grandfathers" in painting the wives during the Sacred Lodge rites, and apparently by the women in everyday painting of their own and the children's faces.[6] This special red paint was called, as also the yellow clay from which it was made, inao:, a term not used for white traders' paint. 386 [788]

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[5] About 1900 The Boy went along with the Gros Ventres on a 4th of July visit to the Piegan at Browning. All four groups, the Piegan, Blood, Blackfeet proper, and northern Piegan, were gathered there. In all the four there B [527 533] was only one man, a famous singer, who knew all the ceremonial dance songs, although some of the other Indians knew some of them, and he was imported by the Browning Piegan for the reason. The Boy heard him sing. The man did not have a nice clear voice, but he lived up to his reputation, for he knew the songs and their order for all the many rites and was kept busy all the time. And he cashed in handsomely with horses, blankets and money. He was able to make a living from his singing. The Boy learned some of the songs this man sang, and he sang one of them for us, that had the words: "You who are the ruler of all sacred (powerful) things having to do with all life, give me all of that so that I may use it all my life." The Blackfeet, The Boy added, think more of the Sun than do the Gros Ventres: it is their deity.

[6] See Flannery, 1953, pp. 144-45.

The Gros Ventres used to get it out in the hills on Stiffarm Creek at Curly Head's place. It occurs as a yellow clay or dirt, as a yellow strip or streak in whitish banks or hillsides, or sometimes it was dug up from the ground. Not everyone could gather it; never men even in the old days, although in recent times Little Man used to do so; but only old women, and only certain ones at that. Coming Daylight's grandmother used to gather it and so did Coming Daylight herself who learned the method and ritual of gathering and preparing it from her grandmother. Singer's grandmother used to gather and prepare it, but she herself did not want to do it, although she had the chance to learn from her grandmother. The art and rite were "kind of handed down."

When about to gather the yellow clay, the woman would sit by the deposit, smoke, and while smoking pray that the clay she was about to gather would be abundant and good. An offering, usually of tobacco, was left at the spot. Both in gathering and in baking the clay the woman had to be alone. [782]

The baking of the clay was done at night by the woman who had gathered it. The children could not be around making a noise, and she herself had to be very quiet. She would make a sort of batter of the clay by mixing it with water, and would knead it into flat round cakes with a round hole in the center. A fire, formerly of buffalo chips, more recently of cow manure, was made, and when it died down to coals, the cakes were put at the bottom, covered up with live coals, and a fire built on top. The woman baking did not blow the fire and she shut everything up. If you blew on the fire the whole paint would disappear. The baking had to be done very skillfully to turn out just right. The baking was fraught with some danger, and some fear went with it. If the cakes baked too brown, this was a bad omen. When the cakes were baked sufficiently all the coals were removed and the cakes, blackened on the surface, were taken out and allowed to cool. The black surface was scraped away, leaving the clay now burnt red. This red clay was then pounded to fine powder on a piece of rawhide. [372] [787]

372 The Flat (and Feathered) Pipe keepers had to keep on hand a good supply of buffalo chips, the proper ritual fuel, as also the common fuel of the people especially when traveling out on the woodless plains. The Boy once asked his father: "Why are buffalo chips used in rites? This does not seem proper." "Buffalo chips," Lame Bull replied, "are plentiful everywhere and burn longest. And they are cleanest: the ashes do not stick to your hands; wood ashes do and are hard to rub off." After the buffalo were exterminated, cattle chips were substituted, but these, as Coming Daylight stated, "have an awful odor when burned, while buffalo chips have none." She used to gather buffalo chips for her uncle when he was Flat Pipe keeper; Cora Chandler used to gather cattle chips when her uncle Curly Head was Feathered Pipe keeper. On one occasion, after the disappearance of the buffalo, Coming Daylight went south with her husband, coming back by way of Yellowstone Park where some buffalo were kept. Here she found some buffalo chips, put them in a sack, and brought them all the way back home to give to Horse Capture, then the Flat Pipe keeper. On arriving home she went to his lodge, "covered the Pipe" with a new robe, and laid the chips at the head of the Pipe.

824 The other plants [besides peppermint] that entered into the Flat Pipe and Feathered Pipe rites were sage, tobacco, larb and wild parsley.

Sage was used for the Pipe bed and for other ritual purposes. For the spring Flat Pipe rite at least, only a certain kind of sage (artemisia sp.) was used. Sage was gathered by the co-keeper or one of her children, and could be gotten all the year round, even if in winter only the sticks. According to tradition, the gathering and use of sage for medicinal purposes were in the old days confined to keepers; but in more recent times the people in general have used it, by rubbing themselves with it and smelling it for headache, and by boiling the leaves, especially the top ones, and drinking the infusion for coughs, colds and tuberculosis.

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According to the traditional story as told by The Boy, tobacco and tobacco planting came originally to the Gros Ventres from Earthmaker who taught the first man how to plant tobacco, and its cultivation and use have come down in an unbroken line since

that time. In the olden days it was only the keeper of the Flat 824
Pipe who planted and harvested it; and for ritual use only.[4] 773
As time went on, the keeper thought to himself: "These older men
should have something to pray with when the tribe breaks camp 276
and each band goes its own way." So he said to these older men, each a chief in his own band: "When your bands go their own way you have nothing to use in your prayers. So I am going to distribute some tobacco to each of you for you and your band to use." This he did, and so the use of tobacco began to spread. After this some bands broke away entirely from the Gros Ventres, the original planters and users of tobacco, and became separate tribes and the language changed. The probable order, The Boy thinks, in which they broke away was: first, the Gros Ventres of Dakota,[5] next the Cree, then the Piegan, after this the Crow, and last the Arapaho. He thinks too that the keeper who first distributed tobacco to the bands must have distributed the seed too, for in later years all these people raised their own tobacco.

In the course of time the use of tobacco among the Gros Ventres 276
underwent two important developments, from ritual to recreative and from male to female use.

In earliest days only the keeper and a few old men used tobacco, and used it only ritually. When somebody got sick, the keeper

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[4] In 1948 The Boy elaborated on the original planting of tobacco which he had heard Lame Bull discuss many times. "It was virgin soil deep in the forest and they made a woven fence around it so nothing could get in. After the planting, they moved off for hunting and every once in a while the keeper made a ceremonial smoke and prayed to the Supreme Being that the tobacco would grow. After the vegetation began to mature they returned to the plot and the keeper went to look and thanked the Supreme Being in a loud voice that the crop had matured. The tobacco was picked ceremoniously and three plants were always left standing in the plot."
There was a plot of ground in the forested area of Canada on which nothing
grew and which the Gros Ventres called "Broken Grass." In Lame Bull's [778]
time they used to leave offerings there whenever they passed nearby. The Boy and other old men and women believe that this was the site on which the original tobacco was planted under instruction from the Supreme Being. [R.F.]

[5] The original Gros Ventres, according to the same tradition, had no corn. Corn originated among the Gros Ventres of Dakota. [For confirmation of tradition regarding raising of tobacco, see Flannery, 1953, p. 61, n. 12.]

276 would use tobacco in his prayers for the patient. If the patient survived but was still weak, the keeper made him smoke to get back his strength. So some of the other tribesmen learned to smoke. Gradually social (and recreative) smoking took its place together with ceremonial smoking.

In earlier times, the women never smoked either ritually or socially. Even in rites where they had an important role, such as [562] the inauguration of a new pipe keeper, they did not smoke, as women were considered secondary, not equal to men. Even as late as The Boy's and Thick's early boyhood in the decade before the last buffalo disappeared (1884), only the old women smoked, never the young girls. The spread of the custom among these old women was probably due to their discovery by experience that the smoking prescribed for maladies, such as, chronic headache, was good for the body. But even today, although women smoke non-ritually when alone or among themselves, they are not allowed to smoke at a Pipe rite, and, if wives are present when a man invites a group of men for a social visit or meal and he fills up his pipe to give his guests a smoke, he does not offer the pipe to the wives.

Tobacco was used only in pipe smoking. It was sometimes smoked straight by old men and old women, and by the sick as [17 824] a cure. But ordinarily the Gros Ventres smoked it mixed either with red willow, as did the Cree and Assiniboine, or preferably, and in the Flat Pipe rites always, with larb.

Larb is "a ground plant that grows on hills and mountains." We could get no specimen for identification. After the tobacco and larb were mixed, a little more larb than tobacco, fat was worked into the mixture to season it. On taking leave from his Gros Ventre [431 609] friends in 1940 the present author was given a small bag of this mixture as a token of peace and good will and found the mixture a very pleasant aromatic smoke.

The wild parsley, associated with the Flat and Feathered Pipe 278 and with the Crazy Lodge, was used as a powerful poison. It was greatly feared and was spoken of in undertones. Its preparation is a lost art. The whole plant was and is considered poisonous, but poison was prepared principally from the root, which was first

dried and seasoned, then pulverized, and used in a liquid. It was 278
also used mixed with other things.

The Pipe keepers, and co-keepers, ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers, were immune and could handle it. But if others touched the plant or powder they would be seized at once with fits which only an actual or retired keeper or co-keeper could cure by working on him and blowing some of the powder on him. Some Gros Ventres, however, such as old Deafie, did not believe that wild parsley caused fits, but many cases are reported. One man, for instance, in recent times carried some in his hands to a dance, and during the dance got a fit and it took one of the ex-co-keepers to bring him out of it. Another man used wild parsley as a medicine in doctoring. Each participant in the Crazy Lodge used it. But originally its use was confined to Pipe keepers and co-keepers (see p. 52).

If one were scratched with an arrow that had been dipped in 411
wild parsley infusion he would suffer spasms, fits and acute agony 278
and would not live till morning. Such a poisoned arrow was tied by each Crazy Lodge dancer to his bow, apparently as a silent threat to enforce obedience and respect by the people during the lodge rites, but was thrown away after the dance was over.[*] These poisoned arrows were not used at any other time than the Crazy Lodge; never for instance, in Gros Ventre wars or raids on enemies.

SEASONAL RITES

The three annual seasonal rites were in the olden days the major 796*
ceremonial events in Gros Ventre life according to The Boy,
Thick and older informants. No vow was necessary to hold them. 178
They were never omitted. They had to be performed. The seasonal rites have long since been given up. They were last carried out sometime in the late 1860's or early 1870's, while The Boy's father, Lame Bull, was keeper.

The three seasonal rites were held in the spring, fall and winter 796*
respectively. About April the various Gros Ventre bands, which 221
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[*] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, pp. 207-08 regarding poisoned arrow.

*796 221 361 had been scattered during the winter, would foregather at a designated place for the spring buffalo hunt, and when the trees were in leaf and the grass up and everything growing and in blossom and a certain kind of sage about 10 inches high, long enough to pluck, the spring rite was held. During the summer months the bands kept more or less together, largely engaged in hunting the buffalo and holding the Sacred Lodges. Around October occurred the larger fall hunt to get in supplies of meat, skin, fur, sinew and so forth for the winter, and, before the bands scattered, the fall rite took place. After the fall rite, the bands scattered for the winter months. The winter rite was performed about the middle of the winter season and was participated in only by the members of the band or bands which had elected to stay the winter with the Pipe and its keeper.

*796 The three rites were fundamentally the same, with some differences to be noted, but had each its own purpose. All three were dominantly theistic in the sense of being directed chiefly toward the Supreme Being. Spring time, when all nature was coming again to life, was in general Gros Ventre religious belief, the most propitious time for prayer. The spring Pipe rite was primarily a rite of hope and petition, a prayer that all things would grow well, that there would be plenty of game and of plant food, that the people would have abundance of all things they needed for living well, that they would be successful in all their worthwhile undertakings such as the hunt, that there would be no sickness, and that all would live happily. The fall rite, held after the winter supply had been killed and dried and berries had been gathered, new lodge coverings made, and perhaps new lodge poles, new bedding, clothes cleaned, etc., was primarily a rite of gladness and thanksgiving. To "make a sort of report" to the Supreme Being that they were still living, that their spring prayers to him had been answered in the way they had asked, and to give thanks to him for these good things which ultimately had come from him. The purpose of [801] the winter rite was less clear cut. For one thing, the rite was required to round out the cycle of three, the Pipe number. Thanksgiving was one purpose, thanksgiving "and a sort of singing of praises," "a sort of adoration," because the people were at leisure, without hardship, sickness or anxiety, glad to be still alive in the severe winter, enjoying the things they had asked for and gotten. Petition was another, prayer that they would have good health and be spared visitation by Asta: [the epidemic being], and that they would go on living happily till spring.

The seasonal rite lasted three days if the keeper was able and willing to supply the necessary food, but could be concluded all in one day. In either case the sweat-lodge rite preceded the various ceremonies carried out in the keeper's lodge. The Pipe bundle was always opened, but the Pipe itself was not uncovered to view or smoked unless the seasonal rite was combined with the Pipe smoking rite vowed by some individual. In the vowed and transfer rites the Pipe was uncovered and smoked. At the spring and fall rites all the bands and their members were expected to be on hand, but at the winter rite only the band or bands which had elected to stay with the keeper after the scattering of the tribe in the late fall. In nearly all major Gros Ventre rites, both the Pipe (Flat [781] and Feathered) and Sacred Lodge rites, there was an alternation or contrast of "grave and gay," of reverent tension and pleasurable release. The release in the Sacred Lodges was very apt to take the form of boisterous amusement, of ritually countenanced horseplay and at times vulgarity. The release in the Pipe rites was of a less ebullient type, consisting mostly of recesses for friendly smoking and chatting and of a terminal feast. The nearest approach to boisterousness or horse play was the mixed singing contest (previously described) which was common to the transfer rite (but not the seasonal or vowed Pipe rites) and to the Crazy Lodge.

The seasonal rites consisted of two main ceremonial sequences: the preliminary or opening ceremony of the sweat-lodge and the main ceremony in the keeper's lodge. We shall now take up these in turn.

The sweat-lodge ritual, according to the Gros Ventre origin story, was first taught by Ni:hɔhat to the bladder people shortly before he was killed and was first practiced by them just as he came to life again. (See No. 1 in Appendix.) The ritual as thus originally taught was carried out with an ordinary pipe. It was only afterwards that the Flat Pipe itself appeared, either shortly

*796 afterwards according to the Ni:hɔhat story or after the great deluge according to the flood story.

Ritual sweating and use of the sweat-lodge, tsē:bātc, were resorted to by the Gros Ventres on many occasions not connected [515 721] with the sacred pipe rites,—skin and finger-joint sacrifices, war expeditions, and dreamed-of impending evils. Sweating in such cases will be dealt with in the proper places, as also sweating at the Feathered Pipe rites and Sacred lodges. The sweat-lodge rite was obligatory at the following Flat Pipe ceremonies: the three seasonal rites, the transfer rite (previously described), rites in fulfillment of a vow to smoke the Pipe or to paint its bowl, or to make a sweat-lodge for the keeper or for the Pipe, and at the disposal of offerings to the Pipe.

726 *796 Before a war party started out, among other ceremonial observances a sweat-lodge rite was commonly gone through. A Flat Pipe Keeper might on such an occasion take pity on the leader and members of the departing war party, build his own 31-stick sweat-lodge, and go through the sweating rite. If, furthermore, the keeper accompanied the war party, he might do the same from time to time during the course of the expedition.

*796 For the present we shall confine our attention chiefly to the sweat-lodge as used in the three seasonal rites, dealing first with the sweat-lodge itself, and after that with the sweating rite. We merely reiterate in passing that the sweating rite, while obligatory in a seasonal rite, was somewhat distinct from the ceremonial which followed it and which was carried out in the keeper's lodge.

346 *796 The Flat Pipe sweat-lodge was constructed as follows. In ground plan it was more or less circular about 7 to 9 feet in diameter, with two openings, the main larger entrance at the east and the smaller exit opening at the west. The general form was nearly semi-spherical. On each side, the northern and southern, 15 willows [802] were stuck in the ground. The number 30 may represent a multiple of the sacred number three, and one of our informants conjectured, with particular reference to the 30 poles of lodge where He-who-starved-to-death slept fasting on the 30 successive nights. These 30 willows were arched over and woven fast into a ridge willow that ran the east-west axis of the structure. Thus the sweat-lodge was constructed of 31 willows in all.

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The ridge willow was painted all black with charcoal. Each of the other 30 lateral willows was painted black around its whole circumference just at the point where the upright section began to bend or arch. This "painting" was done by grasping the willow at this point with the blacked palm. Each willow was also painted black at the very top where the arched willows met, this painting being done by simultaneously grasping each two willows at the top. The whole framework was covered with robes when the sweating was about to take place.

Inside the sweat-lodge at about its centre, was dug a pit, about 2 feet square by about 15-16 inches deep, as a deposit hearth for the heated rocks. Around the four sides of the square pit at near ground level there was a beveled groove of earth, with the bevel slanting outward and downward from the edge of the pit. The surfaces of the bevel and the bottom of the pit were covered with powdered charcoal.

From near the two corners of the eastern beveling to the two first willows flanking the main entrance, the ground space was cleared of grass and smoothed even, and this space was covered with powdered charcoal.

Sage brush was laid around the inside of the sweat-lodge next to the wall.

At three spots on the east-west axis of the sweat-lodge,—on the surface of the west bevel, on the bottom of the pit at its centre, and just doorward of the east bevel on the cleared charcoaled space,—incense places, pi-shaped with the open side toward the east, were made with powdered red paint.

Near to and east of the main entrance on a line with the east-west axis of the lodge were the hearth and fire for heating the rocks. Still farther removed, about 25 feet from the main entrance and on the same axis, was the pipe mound, circular in ground plan, about 2 feet in diameter more or less conical in shape, made with the earth that had been taken out to form the sweat-lodge pit. The dirt so dug out had to be carried, not in the hands, but on a choice piece of buffalo hide with the fur on. The ordinary pipe (not the Flat Pipe), used to pray and smoke with in the sweating ritual, was placed on the west slope of this mound, with stem up

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346 toward the east and bowl filled down toward the west. At sweating rites on certain occasions as when a man was fulfilling a vow to *796 make a sweat-house for the Pipe or when a participant offered bits of his flesh, a buffalo skull was placed on top of the mound, but not at seasonal rites.

Close to the mound, eastward thereof, on the east-west axis, was erected the pole on which offerings were hung. The pole was a small straight tree trunk, not too big, with the limbs trimmed off but the bark left on, well imbedded upright in the ground. It was colored black all the way round by grasping it with a blackened palm, in three places,—about head high, about half way between this point and the top, and at the very top.

[361] The Pipe sweat-lodge was erected near the keeper's tent, outside the camp circle. A new one was built for each seasonal rite.

*796 The chief components of the sweat-lodge ceremony of the Flat Pipe seasonal rite were: the preparation, presentation and disposal of gifts; the invitation to the sweaters; the smudging; the prayer with and smoking of a common pipe; the sweating proper; the three series of songs. Of these components the principal one was the offering of the gifts or sacrifices. The sweat-lodge and sweating were necessary, "to make the offering complete." In other words, the whole rite was essentially a sacrificial one. The offerings were given voluntarily by members of the tribe, including commonly the keeper himself. The gifts or sacrifices were offered to the Supreme Being through the inferior beings who entered into the rite and in a sense through the Flat Pipe.

The sweat-lodge rite had three main divisions with three songs sung at each: the preparation of the offerings, the hanging of them on the offerings pole, and the sweating and associated observances within the sweat-lodge.

The sweat-lodge rite began with the preparation of the offerings. If the whole seasonal rite was a three-day one, this preparation took place on the first night and day, the rite at and in the sweat-lodge on the second day, and the separate Pipe rite in the keeper's lodge on the third; if a one-day one, the preparation of the offerings took place the night before, the rite at or in the sweat-lodge early on the following morning, and rite in the keeper's lodge during the day. The whole order and content of the rites were quite the same in both cases. The decision as to length was 796* apparently optional with the keeper, and depended on his ability and willingness to cover the heavy costs of providing food and other necessaries. We shall describe the one-night one-day rite.

The day before the sweating, the keeper would direct his assistants,—one of his brothers or grown sons or friends,—to get the 31 willows, the pole and other raw material for the sweat-lodge, and the sticks to tie the offerings, and would have his wives gather the required wood and uniform stones for the heating, pulverize charcoal, and tidy up the Pipe lodge.

After sundown the keeper had his wives take their children away from his lodge. All the people would know what was to take place in the keeper's lodge that evening and would keep quiet. Then, when in the keeper's judgment, all was quiet in camp and practically everyone had retired for the night, the keeper and a chosen assistant began preparing the offerings in the former's lodge, the Pipe lodge.

The keeper and his assistant began by laving themselves three times with chewed peppermint. Then the keeper filled his common pipe with tobacco, sang thrice the solemn smudge or incense song (No. 81) and dropped peppermint leaves on the sacred hearth, smudged himself (the assistant doing the same), smudged the common pipe, and prayed with it,—all with the same rites as at the Transfer Ceremony (pp. 44-54). Then after a good smoke with the common pipe, the two took a little rest. The incense song, [533] like all others in the sweat-lodge rite, was sung without rattle or other accompaniment.

After this, a fresh live buffalo chip was put on the sacred hearth, another peppermint smudge was made with the triple east, south and west orientation, and all the offerings were smudged by him and laid down. Then he sang another song (No. 79?) three times and started the actual tying of the offerings.

While the keeper was sorting out the offerings and selecting the one he considered the greatest and most valuable, the assistant blackened the sticks to which they were to be tied. This blackening was done by taking a bit of tallow in the palm of the hand, putting [386] charcoal on it, rubbing the palms together, and then rubbing the palms on the stick.

*796 The assistant then held one of the sticks while the keeper wrapped the chosen offering around it. The keeper then put an awl in his assistant's right hand and holding the hand with his own right sang a song (No. 79?), at the same time pushing the assistant's hand toward the left end of the offering. This he did three times, after each time spitting a little peppermint on the spot where the hole was to be made with the awl in the offering. The last time, with their right hands still held together, they made the hole. In the same manner two other holes were made, one at the right end of the offering, the other in the middle. The awl was then laid aside, and three buckskin thongs (the middle one longer than the other two as it served also to tie the offering to the sweat-lodge sacrifice pole) were put in the holes, a triple motion or pass being made with each before actual insertion. And so the keeper and assistant together tied up the first and most valuable offering. After this, the assistant alone tied up the other offerings, each with three thongs on a separate stick, without ceremony, while the keeper sat back and sang till all were tied. Then followed another recess and smoke.

Next the keeper made another smudge, simply and without the smudge song, rubbed tallow and charcoal between his palms and smudged the charcoal paint on his palm, and sang the charcoal smudging song (No. 81). Then he took the chief offering, made three passes at each of the three places on it where it was tied, finally daubing the three places with the black paint in his palm. The other offerings were then likewise daubed black at each of the three tying-spots, but hurriedly and without ceremony.

All the offerings were then tied to a single small pole such as children used in their play lodges, the most valuable one at the top, the next valuable next, and so on, with the least valuable at the bottom. The whole thing was then tied in a neat bundle, and the assistant was directed to take the bundle outside the lodge and lean it against the lodge cover to the near center, that is, the north, carefully upright lest some dog get close and foul it,—there to remain all night. So ended, late in the evening or night, the preparation of the offerings.

Early the next morning the keeper, with an assistant or two, went to the spot where the sweating was to take place, and the assistants cleared the ground and erected the sweat-lodge as directed by the keeper. The fire for heating the rocks was built, the pipe mound made, and the hole for the offerings pole dug. The keeper filled his common pipe with tobacco mixture and had an assistant lean it on the west slope of the mound, stem upward and pointing to the east. Meanwhile the ex-keepers and other older prominent men (no women), who had been previously agreed upon and notified as selectees to sweat, gathered on the scene and sat waiting in a half circle to the south of the lodge. There was no face painting by the participants before or during the sweat-lodge rite, as they were going to sweat profusely.

When the keeper saw that all was ready he sent an assistant to fetch the small pole of offerings from behind the keeper's lodge. On returning the assistant held this pole in his hands while the keeper untied one by one the offerings and tied them crosswise by the middle longer thong to the larger sweat-lodge pole, one below the other,—at the top the most valuable one distinguished by a bundle of feathers tied to it, and the others below in order of value. The small pole was then just discarded.

Next an assistant brought a live buffalo chip and placed it in the bottom of the pole hole. Peppermint was then dropped on the chip and the large pole with the offerings was set upright in the hole. This transfer of the offerings, the peppermint smudging, and the erection of the pole were apparently accompanied with ritual and singing (the smudge song and two or three others it seems), but we obtained only the most meager details.

Next came the chanted invitation to sweat (record No. 86). This was given by some particularly prominent and respected elderly man. At a word from the keeper, he took the filled common pipe from the mound, and standing close to the mound and holding the pipe upward, prayed and in a loud voice chanted the names of those who were invited to sweat: first the Supreme Being, then in order, the Four Holy Old Men, Those-who-follow-each-other (Sun and Moon), He-who-starved-to-death (not however the Last Child, he is not important enough), and finally the human invitees present, each by name three times.

All the invited men, the keeper in the lead, then filed into the sweat-lodge entering by the left side of the east door and proceed-

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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*796 ing clockwise each to his place with the keeper in the place of honor opposite the east door, and sat cross-legged on their buttocks, not squatted on their heels. The man who had chanted the invitations then followed them, after placing the pipe on the mound, and took his place at the left of the east door.

At this juncture the keeper's wife at his direction, brought the Flat Pipe bundle to the sweat-lodge, gave it to the keeper who smudged it three times at each of the three incense places. Then she took the bundle and went out through the west door,—all with the same ceremonial observance as at the Transfer Rite.

A live buffalo chip was put on each pi-shaped hearth by one of the attendants. Next the keeper made the smudge or incense by dropping peppermint on these three hearths,—the eastern, middle, and western in order,—with the smudge song and ritual as described for the Transfer Rite. Then followed the fumigation of the keeper's person and of the common pipe, as *mutatis mutandis* in the same Transfer Rite. Then the keeper with closed eyes prayed with the common pipe extended upward in his hands, after which the pipe was passed clockwise till it reached the man nearest the east door who passed it across the door to the inviter seated next the door. The latter with the help of the assistants who brought a live buffalo chip, lit the pipe, puffed it, passed it to the man on his left to puff, and so on clockwise until it reached the man nearest the east door on the north side. Then it was passed back anti-clockwise, without being puffed, till it reached the inviter. So the smoking continued until all the tobacco was smoked up, when it was passed to the keeper who emptied it slowly with the usual ceremony and cleaned it out with the regular stick. Then the pipe was passed clockwise to the attendant at the north side of the door, who deposited it on the slope of the mound outside in its ritual position of bowl to west and stem to east.

*796 515 Now the sweaters disrobed, passing their clothing to the two attendants who piled them up outside to the north and the south of the sweat-lodge respectively. The heated rocks were then brought in and deposited in the sweat-lodge pit and the door coverings were lowered. The two attendants then stretched out, just outside the east door face down, head resting on the folded arms and so propped up a little (a common sleeping posture, with ears exposed to hear well and mouth free to breathe easily), and so remained during the ensuing songs and until summoned to open up the sweat-lodge coverings for breathing spells.

The keeper then began singing a song (No. 83) in which all present in the sweat-lodge joined. This was sung three times. During the singing any who wished would pray, each by himself out loud, for the two attendants outside, who were gladdened to hear this. Several could pray aloud at the same time without being distracted as they were accustomed so to pray.

Just before the actual sweating another song (No. 84) was sung in like manner.

Next the hot rocks were sprinkled by the man who had chanted the initial invitations to sweat. While he and the others sang the "hell-diver's song" (No. 84), he dipped his right hand fingers, tips joined, into the water, stirred the water with his fingers, and at the end of the song snapped his finger tips open over the rocks and sprinkled them, at the same time making a sort of grunted "uh! uh! uh!" (three times), an imitation of the hell-diver's call. Then plenty of water was splashed on the hot rocks. The same ritual and song were gone through three times.

It was during this sprinkling that they used to hear a woman's voice singing. Both The Boy and Thick have heard this voice—the former long ago when his father then an ex-keeper put up a sweat-lodge, both when a few years ago Thick's brother, then a keeper, put up one. The old people thought this woman was some holy being, but beyond that knew nothing more about her. The Boy and Thick conjectured that she may possibly have been the first woman made after the flood by Earthmaker.

The hell-diver entered into the sprinkling rite and at this point because both in actual habit and in the origin story of the flood he is associated with water. He was prayed to, "Hell-diver, help me! Come!" in the sweat-lodge rite, probably at this juncture. The hell-diver song was never sung outside of the sweat-lodge rite.

After the third singing, sprinkling, and splashing, all those inside the sweat-lodge had a good sweat, during which the sweaters

*746 515 whipped themselves, especially on any part of their bodies where they felt sick, with buffalo tails attached to a handle. The keeper used a distinctive whip of a white or beaver buffalo tail. After the men inside had sweated a while, the two attendants, who had meanwhile remained lying face down outside, one at each side of the east door, raised the covers first of the east door and then of the west. After a little breathing spell, the covers were lowered again by the attendants, the west door cover first, water was splashed afresh, without song or ritual, on the hot rocks, and a second sweating period ensued. After this, a third one followed. Then those of the sweaters who wished took a plunge in the river, and all donned their clothing.

*796 The offerings were then taken down from the offerings pole, and one of the assistants or some other good upright man was deputed by the keeper to take them away from camp to some knoll or mountain top or near some big rock, pray with them, and weight them down well with stones, or else, as a less common alternative, to carry them down to some stream and sink them in the water. Some of the offerings had been selected however for distribution to needy children.

[262] No food of any kind was eaten by the participants during the seasonal sweat-lodge rite. When the whole seasonal rite itself was carried out on the three-day plan, the sweating ceremony lasted from early morning until near sundown, and was followed by a big meal.

After the sweating rite was over, the sweat-lodge was not torn down but was just left standing. Children were admonished by their elders not to play around it, and especially not to go inside it, lest they should grow slowly and be dwarfs for a long time. Even though such an abandoned sweat-lodge was still in good condition when a later seasonal rite happened to be held at the same camp site, neither the lodge or any part of it would be used again. An entirely new one would be erected.

In a three-day seasonal rite, the second part of it with the terminal feast occupied the whole or most of the third day; in the one-day rite, what remained of the day after the sweating was over. All of this second part of the rite took place in the keeper's lodge where the Flat Pipe was.

Before the rite began all things were made ready. Ordinarily the sacred incense-hearth, so important a feature of the rite, was already built. It was customarily made by the keeper immediately after his lodge was erected on arrival at a new camp site and he had to have such a hearth in his lodge at all times. By way of exception, when the seasonal rite took place at once on the arrival of the tribe at a new camp and in the rush the keeper had not gotten around to making the hearth, he would begin the preparation of the offerings by so doing. 796*

This sacred hearth was quite distinct from the keeper's ordinary lodge hearth. The latter was made without ceremony, in the center of his lodge, and without an encompassing circle of rocks. Such rock circles were made only when fires were kindled on the march, to prevent prairie fires, and on hearths built outside the lodge for boiling bones and so forth. 796* 354 778

The sacred incense or smudge hearth was built with a special solemn rite of its own, a rite in no way connected with seasonal or other ones, in the following manner.

The keeper himself made the hearth, assisted by the co-keeper and Pipe child, or in some cases by an attendant or vow-maker. First the grass was cut on an oblong space, about the length of the Flat Pipe bed, between the ordinary family hearth in the center of the lodge and the Flat Pipe bed at the rear (north) side thereof. The keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child, if all three were to participate, chewed peppermint, spat on their hands, and rubbed their hands together as if washing them, but did not rub their arms or head. 796*

The keeper, facing south (as also his wife) and holding an axe in his right hand, lowered the axe three times, spitting at each lowering, and then chopped in the ground the outline of the oblong space, beginning at the southeast corner and proceeding clockwise. Then with a knife he cut off all the grass in this space, smoothing it but not digging out a sunken one. The co-keeper, who had previously placed a choice piece of buffalo robe, about 3' to 4' square from a buffalo that had completely shed its winter coat, to the east of the oblong space, then spat three times on the cut grass and removed dirt and placed it on the robe, carried the blanket of grass and dirt out clockwise, turned to the east, walked a good

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distance away, spilled the grass and dirt slowly and reverently on the ground, returned, re-entered the lodge, proceeded clockwise to her place between the sacred hearth and the lodge hearth.

The keeper or another (The Boy himself used to help his father in this detail) next made in the center of the oblong space a smaller square mound of earth about an inch in height, as a base for the sacred hearth. (See Plate 1C.) Then the keeper himself (no other) sitting facing south took a pinch of red powdered paint, held it up toward the south, and while singing alone the solemn hearth song (No. 35), lowered it in three stages, and sprinkled it clockwise to form a rectangular ouline in red on the east half of the dirt mound. Then taking a pinch of charcoal, he did the same to form the outline on the west half. Finally while the keeper sang the hearth song the third time, the Pipe child filled in the two outlined spaces, the red one first, with a covering of red paint and charcoal respectively. And so the smudge hearth was made. The live buffalo chip for smudging was placed in the center straddling the red and black halves.

The hearth song was sung only at the hearth-making rite, not at seasonal or other rites as such. It was first sung by Ni:hɔhat and by Earthmaker. The red paint symbolized the earth; the charcoal, the above, the sky, the heavens; the two together, the universe. In making the hearth the keeper was symbolically making the world, reenacting the making of the dry land after the flood. When the seasonal rite was to be held, he had already "created the world," no new hearth was made for it, and the hearth song was not sung in it.

Like the incense hearth, the Flat Pipe bed had to be ritually made at once on arrival at a new camp site, was always in place in the keeper's lodge, and hence was in readiness before the start of the seasonal rite. The bed-making ceremonies were as follows.

On arrival at a new camping place, after the keeper's lodge was set up, the co-keeper or Pipe child or one of her other children would gather the sage. The co-keeper would carry the bundle of sage into the lodge, proceed clockwise and deposit it on the ground. Then she would take a bit of dried peppermint from the bag in her belt, chew it, spit on her hands and rub them together, take the bunch of sage in her hand, spit on it three times, lower it

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in three stages and then neatly arrange the sprigs on the bare ground at the north wall of the lodge, with their stems to the north and tips to the south. Then she took hold of the beaver buffalo robe, spat on it three times, lowered it in three stages, and so arranged it on top of the sage so that the sage tips projected out from under the south edge of the robe.

After the Pipe bed had been so made, the keeper made incense on the smudge hearth with the usual smudge song and rite, and the keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child smudged their persons (hands, arms, mouth, and head) as at the Transfer Rite. Then the keeper directed the co-keeper to fetch the Flat Pipe bundle from the tripod, outside the lodge, on which it had been hanging from first arrival at the new camp with its stem end to the east. She walked out clockwise, went to the bundle, halted, spat on it three times, took it from the tripod, held it with her left arm over it and her right arm under it, walked clockwise to the lodge door, entered, proceeded clockwise to the incense hearth, dipped the stem end three times in the smudge, moved to the Pipe bed, spat three times, and gently deposited the bundle, stem end to the east, on the farthest north edge of the bed. Later the Pipe was hung up on the tripod.

In ordinary times the Pipe bundle when inside the keeper's lodge was on either the bed or the tripod. Just before the beginning of the seasonal rite it hung on the tripod, bowl end to west and stem end to east (See Plate 2A).

Those privileged to be present in the keeper's lodge during the seasonal rite were: the keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child; the surviving ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers [of both the Flat and Feathered Pipes?]; two young men who served as attendants; tribespeople who knowing the seasonal rite was to be held had waited therefor to make offerings "to cover the Pipe;" sometimes others, admitted on account of their prominence or of their knowledge of the songs. Those, who through offerings had paid their way in and acquired the right of being present, just sat there and listened, without playing an active part in the ceremony.

At the beginning of the rite the keeper and co-keeper knelt squatting on their heels, the former to the west of the Pipe bed

*796 and incense hearth, the latter to the east. The others sat in order of dignity and rank on the west and east sides of the lodge, the two attendants at either side of the door, the attendant whom we shall call "attendant number one" at the west side, number two at the east. These attendants were chosen for their intelligence and integrity and to be chosen for the task was looked upon as a great honor.

[302] Before the rite started, those inside the lodge or at least the ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers would have painted themselves, without ritual, for the occasion.

The rite in the keeper's lodge was made up of the following elements:

Peppermint laving
Smudging and smoking
    Making incense (with song)
    Smudging, praying with and smoking common pipe
        Recess
Untying and unwrapping Flat Pipe bundle
    (with 3 songs and origin narrative)
        Recess
Painting of
    People
    Sacred objects
    (with 3 songs and origin narrative)
        Recess
Rewrapping and re-tying bundle
    (with 3 songs and origin narrative)
        Recess
Terminal feast
    Praying with food offering
    Consuming of meal
    Reciting war-deeds.

Our chief informant on the rite was The Boy. Even in the old buffalo days before 1884 when the seasonal rites were regularly carried out, questions and debates used to arise at times regarding this or that minor point, such as sequence of some songs. It is quite understandable therefore that The Boy, although clear regarding the main ritual features, most details, and main sequence, was uncertain regarding some minor points, especially regarding sequence. The above broad pattern and sequence are substantially correct. The broad pattern is clear enough: the laving, smudging and smoking; next the unfolding and refolding, with the three triads of songs, each of the nine songs sung three times; the terminal feast with the prayer and recital of war-deeds. Certain doubtful details, particularly of sequence, will be noted as we go along, especially the order of the songs and the concurrent ritual details, and the point at which the painting of the faces occurred.

At the very beginning the keeper distributed dried peppermint leaves to all present in the lodge, who chewed the leaves and spat on and rubbed their hands together, palms and backs, with ordinary hand-washing movements. The keeper, co-keeper, the two attendants and, if another than the keeper had been designated to pray with the common pipe, he too, spat ritually three times on their hands for the laving. The chewing of the peppermint leaves [which continued after the hand laving?] also sanctified the mouths for singing later the sacred songs.

The keeper then put peppermint leaves on the sacred hearth, thrice in succession with the same ceremonies as at the Transfer Rite (pp. 44-54), and with the same triple singing of the smudge song (No. 82) in which all present joined. When from time to time later during the rite in the keeper's lodge, he dropped peppermint leaves on the hearth, he did so without singing the smudge song.

Next the keeper, co-keeper, and the two attendants, in this order, smudged their arms, mouth and head (with ceremonies as in Transfer Rite).

Then the keeper's common pipe (not the Flat Pipe), was filled with tobacco and larb, smudged by him, stem and bowl (same ceremony as in Transfer Rite). After this the keeper or his ritual grandfather the last co-keeper, prayed holding the common pipe stem pointed upward, toward the Supreme Being to whom first and chiefly his prayer was addressed (See Plate 1B). Usually at least, the prayer was also addressed, secondarily, to the Four Holy Beings, Those-who-follow-each-other (Sun and Moon), and He-who-starved-to-death. During the prayer he held the pipe with the bowl in his right hand between thumb and index finger and with the stem in his left, the left thumb on the upper surface of the stem.

*796 The prayer ended, the pipe was lit, smoked and emptied with the same ceremonies as for the Flat Pipe itself at the Transfer Rite (q.v.) At the end the pipe was just put back among the keeper's belongings to the west of the Flat Pipe bed. The common pipe in this as in other rites served as a representative of or surrogate for the Flat Pipe itself.

After this, there came a brief recess during which some might fill their own pipes and smoke and chat together or step out of the lodge for a short while.

After this brief recess began the major ceremony in three stages of unfolding the bundle, painting, and refolding. Each of the three stages marked by the triple singing of three distinct series of songs (9 songs each sung 3 times, a total of 27 singings).

The first stage consisted of untying and unwrapping the Flat Pipe bundle. When after the recess everybody was back in place in the lodge, the co-keeper brought the Flat Pipe bundle from the tripod in the lodge to the sage bed at the north side thereof. Getting up on her feet she went to the tripod, took from the top of the bundle any offerings that were there and hung them somewhere else, facing the bundle posed her right hand palm down and finger tips joined and pointing away from her at shoulder height, made motion or pass with her hand toward the bundle while at the same time sort of spitting on the bundle a bit of the peppermint she had been chewing, and brought her hand back into the posed position. The motion or pass and spitting were done twice more. Then she took hold of the bundle, released with her left hand the thong by which the bundle hung on the tripod, and with both hands lifted off the bundle.

Holding the bundle with her right hand under it and her left arm over it encircling it, stem end forward, she turned clockwise to the pipe bed, posed a moment with the stem end to the south, then lowered the bundle a little and posed a moment more, and gently set the bundle down on the sage and buffalo-robe bed with the stem end pointing north. The keeper now squatted on his heels to the west of the bundle; the co-keeper squatted to the east thereof facing him across the bundle.

Either at this point, or perhaps a little later after the ritual

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face-painting, the rattles were taken out of the bundle, smudged and distributed. The keeper reached into the bundle and into the smaller bag containing the rattles, took them out, held them all in both hands facing toward the east, raised them up in the smudge rising from the sacred hearth (see Plate 1C), lowered them in three stages, circled them three times clockwise around the live buffalo chip on the hearth and rattled them all together. Then he did the same, toward the south, and the same toward the west,—all this squatting on his heels so as to be able to turn around easily.

The smudging over, he distributed the rattles one by one to each man, not to the women. The recipient walked up to the keeper and held his hands up to receive the rattle, while the keeper first spat three times on it reaching it three times toward the recipient, then shook it, and finally handed it over to him. The keeper kept one for himself. As previously noted, the rattles were shaken in a circle clockwise at breast height during Flat Pipe rites.

Now the keeper, closing his eyes tightly and shaking his rattle, started the solemn "Creation" or hearth song (No. 35) and then handed his rattle to the man on his right, at which all present, men and women, joined in and sang it in chorus to the end. Then they sang it a second and third time. The participants were here figuratively reenacting "creation," the making of land which Earthmaker had formed "by thinking, without any exertion," and they too while singing the song were supposed to "be thinking that way."

The keeper and co-keeper, squatting to the west and east of the bundle respectively and facing each other, then began the actual unfolding of the bundle. While the keeper held his right arm outstretched at shoulder height, his right hand palm down with the tips of the thumb, index and middle fingers joined and pointing outward, he started the wordless untying song (No. 37) in which all present then joined. This song was sung three times and at the end of the first two singings the keeper said: Yo! and at the end of the third Yo-ho-ho-ho! three times.

The three thongs around the outer elkskin covering of the

*796 bundle were untied, after the third singing was ended (or perhaps one thong after each of the three singings). The keeper and co-keeper both together made three successive passes at the bundle with their right hands (3 finger tips still joined), spitting on the bundle at each pass. The keeper then untied the stem-end thong to the south, the co-keeper the middle one, and finally the keeper the bowl-end one.

Then both held their hands, three tips joined, breast height before them, made three passes, spitting at each pass. Then the keeper slowly unfolded the flap on his side and laid it flat. Next, after the same joint ceremony, the co-keeper unfolded and laid flat the flaps on her side. The same was repeated with other outer wrappings apparently if they existed. The outer cover of the bundle was then taken off leaving the objects within it exposed, not however the Flat Pipe itself which remained wrapped in its own special case.

The keeper would then hold up one by one the sacred objects in the bundle,—the turtle shell, the hell-diver skin, the muskrat pelt, the bird skins and so forth,—and narrate in full detail the flood and dry-land-making stories and the part played in it by each of the actors. Explanatory narratives of this kind were a very important feature of the seasonal and other more solemn [211] Flat Pipe rites. A primary purpose of them was to freshen the memory of the participants, and to make sure they had an intelligent understanding of what the Flat Pipe stood for. The narratives also included an almost complete ritual of the Flat Pipe as first taught and carried out in the beginning and so served to authenticate the modern rituals. The narratives were recited during this first of the three triads of songs, and also during the following two. They consisted exclusively of sacred traditions regarding the origin and earlier fortunes of the Pipe. War stories and war-deeds, Ni:hɔhat's secular adventures and escapades, secular folk-tales proper, even more serious ones like the Found-in-the-Grass and Blood-Clot cycles were rigidly excluded.

The narratives and explanations during this first triad of songs, like the songs themselves, revolve around the theme of the making of dry land and of the first human couple; those of the next two triads to the later early fortunes of the people after they started to live and multiply. 796*

After the narratives were over, the third song (No. 38), the unwrapping song, was sung three times. This was properly the song for unwrapping the Flat Pipe case and so exposing the Flat Pipe to view. Inasmuch however as the Flat Pipe itself remained in its own proper case and was not exposed in the seasonal rites, but only at the Transfer Rite and the rite in fulfillment of a vow to smoke it, the keeper would explain: "This is the song we sing when we unwrap the Pipe itself," and the song would then be sung. At the end of the third singing of this song, a good recess was taken.

After the recess all reassembled in the keeper's lodge for the painting and second triad of songs, sung to the accompaniment of the rattles. The painting of the sacred objects came at this point; more probably too the painting of the people's faces, although it is just possible that this took place earlier in the rite, between the smoking of the common pipe and the singing of the first song of the first triad.

The face painting began with the triple singing of its own wordless proper song (No. 38). The people filed in proceeding clockwise. Each person fumigated his or her hands, arms, mouth and head in the accustomed ritual manner (cf. Transfer Rite), the keeper from time to time dropping peppermint leaves on the sacred hearth to make incense with the customary three motions, at shoulder height, lower, then close to the hearth, but without singing the smudge song. The keeper prayed for them and they themselves prayed. The keeper, co-keeper, Pipe child, ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers had already painted themselves—the keeper and co-keeper with slate-colored paint—and were not included among those to be painted at this time. The keeper painted the men and boys; the co-keeper, the women and girls. If any of those to be painted already had "good-time" paint on their faces, this was wiped off with the muskrat skin.

The paint was first applied to the faces with a little piece of wood, 3 or 4 inches long, dipped in the sacred red paint. A streak or solid band was made across the forehead from temple to temple, 796*
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*796 narrow at one temple, broader in front, and narrow at the other
temple, to represent the sky and the region above; another under
302 the jawbones and chin, from ear to ear likewise narrow near the
ear, broader under the chin, and narrow at the other ear, to
represent the earth or dry land. Then with a stamp, made of a
stick having a cross of four equal-length arms carved in relief
on its end, and dipped into the paint, crosses in red were imprinted
on each cheek bone of the adults, on the bridge of the
nose according to The Boy, or on the forehead according to
[821 Thick, and on both cheeks. This cross-shaped imprint represented
the morning star (called simply "the cross" [not "the
531] cross star"] in Gros Ventre), so The Boy and Thick conjectured
on their own, but this they never heard from the old
people. This painting meant much, it seems, to the people; as
Coming Daylight expressed it: "It was a great thing to get
painted at Flat Pipe ceremonies." As the people were painted
they filed out clockwise. The rite ordinarily took a long time
and only ended when the last of the people quit coming in. During
it the strict silence was not observed by the ex-keepers and other
privileged persons in the lodge; they chatted and smoked freely.

*796 Two other songs (No. 40 and No. 41), both wordless, were now sung by the keeper and the small groups in the lodge. After the first of these two songs the keeper painted with red paint the sacred objects kept in the Pipe bundle: the Pipe case proper, the bird skins, the rattles, and so forth. After the second, the co-keeper painted the sacred objects connected with the Pipe but not kept in the bundle: the tripod, pipe saddle and so forth. Meanwhile or at the end of the painting, the keeper told further details regarding the history and significance of the Flat Pipe and the sacred objects associated with it. After all this a long recess was taken with free smoking and chatting.

After the recess came the third triad of songs and the re-wrapping and re-tying of the Pipe bundle. The order of the songs, as well as The Boy could remember was: The Last Child Song (No. 42), The Rope Song (No. 43), The Horse Song (No. 44), all three, wordless except for short sentences in the middle, of these were brought back by He-who-starved-to-death and introduced by him into the Flat Pipe rite (cf. No. 5 in Appendix).

While these three songs were sung, each three times, the rewrapping of the bundle and its contents and the re-tying of the outer covering of the bundle were done by the keeper and co-keeper, in reverse order from that followed in the unfolding. The co-keeper re-wrapping first and the keeper after her alternately, and the bowl-end knot of the outer covering of the bundle then the middle knot, and last the stem-end knot. The Boy thought that the re-wrapping and re-tying of the Pipe itself occurred during the Last Child Song in a vowed rite where the Pipe was exposed, not however in the seasonal rite where it was not exposed; and that in the seasonal rite the re-wrapping of the bird skins and other objects occurred during the Rope Song, the rewrapping and re-tying of the outer covering of the whole bundle during the Horse Song.

At intervals during the re-folding or at the end thereof the keeper gave further details on the history and meaning of the rite, songs, and sacred objects, to impress on the minds of his hearers what had already been told, to bring up details he had forgotten to mention earlier, and to narrate the story of He-who-starved-to-death. (For story, see No. 5 in Appendix.)

After the re-wrapping and re-tying ceremony with its songs and narratives was over, the Pipe bundle was left lying in its place on its bed with the stem end to the south, and a good long recess was taken before the beginning of the feast with which the whole seasonal rite terminated.

After all the prepared food, in plenty and of choice quality, was made ready for the feast, and before the eating began the keeper would ask some good highly respected man, maybe an ex-keeper man, to pray—never a woman "as the women were subordinate and accountable to the men and the men were the heads and bosses." The man selected would get up on his feet, go up to the cooked food, take a small bit of the choicest food,—maybe asking the people "Is this the choicest?" and getting their agreement, —and proceed clockwise to a spot just inside the lodge at the west door-post. There he would stand, not slouching, but posed erect

*796 on both feet, hold up the bit of food in the air, and pray. In starting to pray he would say the first two or three words looking upward with open eyes, then he would lower his head and say the rest of the prayer with bowed head and closed eyes. While he prayed aloud, the others present sat immobile in complete silence listening reverently with bowed heads and prayed "inside in their hearts, not aloud" along with him. From time to time during the voiced prayer and at the end thereof, they interjected aloud e:: ! an exclamation of assent something like the Christian "Amen."

In his prayer he addressed first the Supreme Being, then in order the Four Old Men, You-who-follow-each-other, and You-who-starved-to-death. While the above order of address was *de rigueur,* the one who prayed aloud could and did use his own words and ideas. Short appeals might be made to the Four Old Men, Sun and Moon, and He-who-starved-to-death, but the prayer was addressed chiefly to the Supreme Being, to render thanks for the food and other good things he had given them and to ask his continued beneficence in general and such particular favors as the person praying chose to mention. The prayer was said three times. At the end of each saying thereof a bit of the food the man had been holding was pushed by him in the ground, and sort of covered over with dirt, near the wall of the lodge inside at the due east, south and west points respectively, for the Last Child and with mention of his name. (On occasion other than Flat Pipe rites, such as ordinary social feasts, the bit of food for the Last Child was deposited after the prayer at all four cardinal points.)

After the prayer and food offering, the feast broke open. Ordinarily the day would by this time be far spent, and the people had not eaten since breakfast. Before actually starting to eat each person would take a small bit of food, the choicest, hold it up and then bury it in the ground where he or she was sitting. Likewise before drinking any beverage, each would hold it up and then spill a little on the ground. Then "everybody would eat and eat and talk," and at the end those inside the lodge would go out clockwise.

Usually there was more food than could be eaten on the spot. But the feast was an eat-all one, and food could not be taken out

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of the lodge. A dispensation from this strict rule could, and always or at least commonly was, given by the recital of war-deeds. Just before the people were ready to leave and scatter, the keeper would call on some eminent warrior: "You must tell three war-deeds. Then these people can carry home what they cannot eat here and now." To be called upon was considered a signal honor. He recited the deeds in a loud voice. One of the three war-deeds had, it seems, to be one in which he had captured food in a raid.

At the (non-seasonal) Flat Pipe rite in 1938, carried out at the instance of the late Joe Assiniboine, there were practically no offerings, and at the end, without recital of war-deeds, everybody was going out carrying food home. Coming Daylight at this sight "just sat there with bowed head saying to the Pipe: 'Have pity on these people. They do not know any better. These people are fussing with you apparently, offending you, treating you badly!' "

A dispensation to take food out was also, it seems, granted if one of those present who had helped him very appreciably to cover the expenses incurred at the time of entering upon his keepership arose and said: "I helped him to become keeper." So we were told in 1938 but we neglected to check up the point later.

With the departure of the people after the feast and war-deeds recital, the seasonal rite came to an end. Those of the people who had not gotten into the keeper's lodge for the whole rite, because they had not made offerings, would gather about those who had gotten in to hear what had gone on. Those who had gotten in were full of enthusiasm. But with the old ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers all the happenings, while sacred, were just routine for them.

VOWED RITES

The rite of smoking the Flat Pipe in fulfillment of a vow was, in The Boy's estimation, not only "the biggest and most elaborate rite with the Flat Pipe" but also "the greatest rite in all the Gros Ventre worship." Coming Daylight could recall only one full performance of the rite, the one vowed by Runner, in her long life. (b. ca. 1855). A partial performance occurred not many years ago. No other specific cases were learned of by us.

A vow to smoke the Flat Pipe would be made only in extreme

*796 emergency, such as eminent danger of death from enemy attack, illness or drowning. Runner so vowed after he had accidentally shot himself in the stomach with a pistol while out hunting. Another, apparently more important, reason for the rarity of the rite was the cost. The vower had to provide valuable offerings for the Pipe, generous presents in payment for the keeper, and abundant food for all the people who participated. All this cost could ordinarily be met only with the help of well-to-do relatives and friends.

After making the vow, the vower would tell everybody about it and he and his relatives and friends would start getting together the necessary offerings, presents and food. Meanwhile he would consult with the keeper regarding the time and other details. The rite could be carried out either separately from or combined with a spring or fall seasonal rite, not however with the winter seasonal rite. If the next seasonal rite were too far off, the vowed rite might be held separately. If the vow had been made shortly after the fall seasonal rite, the fulfillment would be deferred until spring or until the spring seasonal rite. Under no circumstances was the unwrapping, exposing and smoking of the Flat Pipe itself permitted during the winter time. Incidentally, we may add, the Flat Pipe itself (as distinct from the bundle) could never be unwrapped and exposed just to be looked at, but only when, as at the vowed or Transfer Rite, it was to be smoked.

In general the ritual in fulfillment of the vow to smoke the Flat Pipe was identical with the full seasonal Flat Pipe ritual, except for the variations to be noted presently. It was a three-day ceremony, with the full ritual of the sweat-lodge (including bringing of Flat Pipe bundle to sweat-lodge) and of the smudging, smoking, 9-song singing, praying and terminal feasting as previously described in detail for the seasonal rite. Although the "greatest rite in all the Gros Ventre worship," it can, therefore be described here briefly, with notation only of the variations, from the seasonal rite.

For the sweat-lodge ceremony, the vower himself with the help of his relatives and friends provided the offerings which had to be of great value. The keeper, however, did the tying of them. The vower himself with the aid of a relative or friend of known

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integrity built the sweat-lodge, or, if the vowed rite was combined with a seasonal one, the keeper or his assistant might join the vower in building it.

At the rite in the keeper's lodge certain more marked variations entered in. The vower's place was the lowest, at the door, on the west side, to the left of the attendant, even though the vower were a very prominent man. The Flat Pipe itself was unwrapped from its special case by the keeper and co-keeper just after the singing of the third song of the first triad, and with the same ritual observances with which they had unwrapped the Pipe bundle.

The Pipe case was unwrapped after the third song (No. 37) of the first triad. The keeper [and co-keeper] held out his right hand at about breast height with his elbow crooked, the tips of the thumb, index and middle fingers joined and the other two fingers folded, and thus posed he started the unwrapping song (No. 37), the others joining in, and at the end of the song made a pass with his right hand toward the Pipe case, spat and said: "Yo!" He repeated all this, bending his upper body and face nearer to the case, with the terminal: "Yo!" He did the same the third time, bending still near, with a terminal: "Yo-ho-ho-ho-ho!" said three times. Then the keeper untied the stem-end cord, the co-keeper the middle one, and the keeper the bowl-end one, and with the preliminary motions of the hands the two took off the wrappings alternately,—all as in the unwrapping of the bundle,—until the Pipe lay exposed.

The Flat Pipe itself was then filled and smudged with the same ceremonies as at the Transfer Rite or as for the ordinary pipe at the seasonal rite.

The last ex-keeper took a little tobacco in all five fingers, tips down, of his right hand, and, holding the Flat Pipe by the bowl in his left palm, raised the tobacco about 10" above the bowl, made a pass with it toward the bowl and spat a little, then a second pass nearer the bowl and spat, then a third still nearer and spat, then put a little of the tobacco in the bowl, and finally filled the bowl.

Both bowl and stem were smudged—not stem alone—as follows: Stem by 3 stages toward incense, then 3 circles round

*796 to E—same to S—same to W, then bowl by 3 stages down to incense, then 3 circles—this 3 times [E, S, W.].

After this the keeper summoned the vower: "N . . . . . , come here," at which the vower would proceed clockwise and sit on his buttocks with his legs crossed tailor-fashion under him between the sacred hearth and the Pipe bundle, facing the keeper. The keeper, who had been holding the Pipe with both hands by the stem (not by the bowl or lip end), with stem end pointing toward himself, now turned the Pipe clockwise until the stem pointed toward the vower, touched the vower with the stem first on the right shoulder, then on the left, and last on top of the head.

Next the keeper reached the as yet unlit Pipe to the vower saying: "Puff it three times." The vower, after so puffing three times with the stem in his mouth, was told by the keeper: "Go back to your place." This he did, leaving the Pipe in the keeper's hands.

Either just after the three puffs or after the vower had returned to his place, the keeper turned the Pipe clockwise till the stem end pointed east and slanted upward, and said: "Supreme Being, N. . [name of vower] promised to smoke with this Flat Pipe. Now he is going to smoke with it. He is carrying out his promise." Then still holding the Pipe with stem toward the east and slanting upward the keeper prayed, beginning as he always did in Flat Pipe ritual prayers, with the fourfold invocation of the Supreme Being, the Four Old Men. You-who-follow-each-other and You-who-starved-to-death, and asking the Supreme Being to have pity on the vower, to grant him good health and long life, and so forth. Then the keeper did the same with the Pipe stem pointing to the south, and finally the same to the west.

Then he summoned attendant one: "Here, give this Pipe to that man." Assistant one then went clockwise to the keeper, got the Pipe, and proceeded clockwise holding it in both hands by the stem (not by the bowl or lip end), handed it to the vower, who grasped it in both hands in the same way, with the stem end pointing to himself. Then the keeper directed attendant two, at the east of door: "Come and take a live buffalo chip and light the Pipe for that man." Attendant two, with a forked stick, went to the lodge fire (not the sacred hearth), got a live chip, and, being careful not to drop it, carried it to the vower and put it on the tobacco in the Pipe bowl. The vower started his smoke with three puffs, and after that had a good smoke.

When he had finished his good smoke, he handed the lit Pipe to the man on his left, and so the Pipe passed round the circle clockwise, each person, including the keeper, taking three and only three puffs, as the vower alone had the privilege of taking a good smoke, that is, more than three puffs. While the Pipe was being passed, no one except the keeper could tamp it. When the Pipe reached the last person nearest the door on the east side of the lodge, it was not passed back from hand to hand as it could go around only once to be smoked, but attendant two took it, proceeding counter-clockwise (because the smoked Pipe could not cross the door), to the keeper, who emptied it,—first holding it up high above his head by the stem and spitting a little, then lower and spitting, then lower still and spitting, finally dumping out the ashes gently just outside (not on) the red half of the sacred hearth, without striking the bowl on anything.

The re-wrapping and re-tying of the Pipe and its case were done by the keeper and his wife, with the same ceremony as for the Pipe bundle.

Then came the feast, the food for which was provided by the vower and his relatives and friends. The man chosen to offer prayer before the eating began could pray to the Supreme Being, and to some or all of the other beings, the Four Old Men, Those-who-follow-each-other and He-who-starved-to-death, but if he chose to pray to only one, he had to offer his prayer to the Supreme Being. He prayed, not for the vower alone (as the keeper had done earlier in the rite just before the Pipe was smoked), but for the whole tribe, for all the people whether present or not, in his own words, that they all might have good health, long life, plenty of food, success in all worthy undertakings, and so forth. He would end his prayer with words such as: "I am through, Supreme Being," and those present would respond by saying: "e::." When through praying with the small bowl of choice food held up, he broke off three bits of food and gave these to the vower, saying: "You deposit one each of these

*796 in the ground to the east, south and west." The vower then got up, and facing east and holding up one piece at arm length, prayed, aloud or silently, lowered the bit of food in three stages, and put it in the earth, saying: "Last Child, there's your food." Then he did likewise to the south, and west.

Throughout this vowed rite, as throughout other Flat Pipe rites, the Pipe itself was not prayed to, but served only as a medium or symbol through which prayer was made directly or ultimately to the Supreme Being, "very much," as The Boy explained, "like pictures or Crucifixes used in the Catholic religion."

After the eating got under way, the vower would bring to the keeper the clothing, weapons, skins and other valuables presented in payment. Usually the keeper and co-keeper would distribute these, or most of them, to the ex-keepers, ex-co-keepers and other "holy" people who were present and who had helped him on this or previous occasions.

[787] If a man had had a dream in which a request was made of him to make a sweat-lodge for the Flat Pipe or if he had other grave reason, he might vow: "I will make a sweat-lodge for the Flat Pipe." If the vow were made in the winter time, the keeper would reserve the right to determine when it would be fulfilled, and might defer the fulfillment until some day in spring, perhaps at the time the spring seasonal rite was to be held. The vower besides building the sweat-lodge with the help of some relative or friend was obligated also to bring offerings, as valuable ones as he and his relatives and friends could afford. Not everyone would be well enough off to give offerings suitable in quantity and quality for this solemn occasion, and in such case the keeper might take some of the offerings that had previously been made by others to "cover" the Pipe (see infra) and tie them to the offerings-stick and sweat-lodge offerings pole to make up for the deficiency.

The whole sweat-lodge ritual was carried out, including the tying rite the night before, the offering and tying at the sweat-lodge pole, the praying, smudging and singing, the bringing of the Flat Pipe bundle to the sweat-lodge, and so forth, just as in the seasonal and vowed Flat Pipe smoking rites, with only minor variations. The vower assisted the keeper the night before in preparing the offerings, took the offerings-stick outside, and the next

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morning put up the sweat-lodge, took the offering thereto, and so forth. He was specially prayed over and ritually brushed with sage (see infra) by the keeper. The sweat-lodge rite was not, however, followed by the 9-song rite in the keeper's lodge.

After the abandonment of the seasonal rites in the late '60's or early '70's of the last century, this vowed sweat-lodge rite was still carried out from time to time, but it too was finally given up.

This vowed sweat-lodge-for-keeper rite was distinct from and less solemn than the vowed sweat-lodge-for-Flat-Pipe rite, but was carried out with the same ritual observances, except that the Flat Pipe bundle was not brought to the sweat lodge, and consequently the smudge song was sung immediately after the common pipe was passed to and laid down by him. The sweat-lodge was, of course, made by the vower. The Flat Pipe sweat-lodge rites in general were fundamentally sacrificial rites, the sweating itself being more or less subordinate and complementary to the gift-making. So in this vowed sweat-lodge-for-keeper rite, "a vower would not be much if he did not have offerings to offer besides making the sweat-lodge for the keeper; offerings were next to compulsory."

OTHER RITES AND OBSERVANCES

The Sacrifice Dance [Sundance] was the only one of the Sacred Dances or Lodges into which the Flat Pipe entered. In the Sacrifice Dance it was not unwrapped or smoked, nor was it brought inside the Dance lodge. When all was ready for raising the Sacrifice Dance center-pole, the man who had vowed the Dance brought presents to the Flat Pipe keeper. The co-keeper then carried the Flat Pipe bundle to the spot where the center-pole was to be erected, making three halts on the way, and finally stopping at the third halt a little distance from the spot, with the stem-end of the bundle pointing to the spot. The keeper made a smudge in the hole where the center-pole was to be put and then prayed. Each time the men heaved with the pole to erect it, the co-keeper motioned the stem-end of the bundle toward the pole. After the pole was raised and solidly embedded, the co-keeper

*796 took the bundle back to the keeper's lodge, and the Flat Pipe did not figure further in the Sacrifice Dance rite.

When the keeper wished to make offerings on his own account, because of having been told to do so in a dream or on other occasions, he would assemble the most valuable goods available, and would offer them with the full Flat Pipe sweat-lodge ceremony, as previously described for the seasonal rite.

If the keeper had been asked by the Flat Pipe in a dream to paint it, he would likewise make offerings and go through the full sweat-lodge ceremony. The Pipe itself in this case was not unwrapped and exposed, but red paint was put on the outer wrapping of the large bundle, on the legs of the Pipe tripod, and so forth. On this occasion he might also paint the offerings which had previously been made by tribe members to "cover" the Pipe and which had accumulated. After the rite was over, the offerings would be disposed of by depositing them up in the hills, or by distributing them to the needy.

From time to time, quite outside and independent of the seasonal and other elaborate rites, the faces of the children were painted ritually by the Flat Pipe keeper and co-keeper. The children would be summoned by the keeper and would file into the keeper's lodge in a steady stream and squat on their heels on the west side, and would have their faces painted, the boys by the keeper and the girls by the co-keeper, in the manner previously described (pp. 107-108), with the sacred red paint, not trader's vermilion, to the singing of the face-painting song (No. 39). During the rite the Flat Pipe bundle was on the ground, not on the tripod, with the keeper and co-keeper squatting on their heels to the west and east thereof respectively. Before the painting started a peppermint smudge was made. The children after being painted filed out clockwise by the east side of the lodge. The Boy and Thick remembered the rite from their own early personal experience, but not all the details. Coming Daylight's uncle, Crow Bull, when keeper of the Flat Pipe, around 1873, used to call in the children and paint their faces "because he wanted them to be strong men and women."

While this face-painting rite was intended more for the children, grown-ups too who would accompany the children to escort them and to see that they behaved properly would take advantage of the occasion to be painted. 796*

The painting might be done as the result of a suggestion or direction given the keeper in a dream, to paint the faces of the children and, apparently, of the adults too.

A person might also make a vow to have himself painted. The keeper would then call the ex-keepers together, make a smudge, and sing the face painting song (No. 39). In this simple rite, the keeper and/or co-keeper painted the vower and others who came in.

The making of offerings to the Flat Pipe, called "covering" or "wrapping" the Pipe, was a major aspect of the Flat Pipe cult, the most important private or personal aspect of it, as distinct from the more elaborate public Pipe ceremonies participated in by considerable numbers of all of the people. Such "covering" could be done by anybody at any time, with or without previous vow or notification of keeper. Sometimes, as noted earlier (p. 101), such offerings were made just before a seasonal rite and entitled the giver to a seat in the keeper's lodge during the rite. As a rule, however, "covering" the Pipe was a ceremony to itself, a simple one independent of all others.

"Covering" the Pipe was done, commonly in fulfillment of a promise or vow, in case of illness, danger, or other emergency affecting the giver or a relative or friend, or, apart from any emergency, to obtain good health and long life. Covering was a sacrifice of petition or thanksgiving or both. Forgiveness and atonement purposes were quite absent, so far as we could discover. 782 796*

The offerings more commonly consisted of skin robes, later of textiles. Sometimes tobacco was given, and after a buffalo hunt choice bits of the meat. The textiles offered were such goods as flannel, calico, percale, shawls, blankets. (Some of the offerings can be seen on tripod of Flat Pipe, Plate 1B.) When Singer covered the Pipe she usually offered a robe made of three yards of black flannel, costing about $2.00 a yard. Mary Eraux' mother used also to give three yards of goods as a covering. Black was the preferred color for textile "coverings" because this was the color the Pipe liked best.

782 Hunters returning from a successful buffalo chase would select
pieces of kidney (a special delicacy) and ribs, and put them on
*796 top of the Pipe bundle. In recent times, money offerings occur.
Offerings for the Pipe have become increasingly infrequent; offer-
[262] ings are now usually made instead by the Gros Ventres, all of
whom are Catholics, to the Mission Church or at the Shrine of
[595] Our Lady of the Little Rockies on the Mission grounds.

A promise or vow to cover the Pipe, made silently or aloud, would be worded, "I vow to cover (or wrap) the Flat Pipe," rather than "I vow to give something to the Flat Pipe."

During our field work in 1940, when Coming Daylight was telling among other things what she knew of the Flat Pipe and its ritual, one evening (Aug. 16) she heard that her grandchild was seriously ill. Thereupon she went outside a little distance and holding both arms up, palms out, looking up and facing toward where the Flat Pipe was she spoke and prayed: "I am telling about you. I am telling everything straight. I suppose you hear everything, and must know that I am telling everything straight. I am telling the truth and nothing but the truth. Look at me. Have pity on me and upon all the rest of the people. Take away all bad things that go around here on earth. Have pity so my grandchild may get well. I promise to put a robe on you. I hear you value black more than anything, and that is what I shall get you. I hear my grandchild though still sick is better." In this case, as Coming Daylight explained, she was "talking right to the Pipe."

In a long discussion, a couple of days later (Aug. 20, 1940), with The Boy, he emphasized that while a person covering the Flat Pipe had great reverence for it and would address it by its own two names, Flat Pipe and Little Turtle, the Pipe itself was only a medium by which the Supreme Being was petitioned or thanked. A man, for instance, in sudden imminent danger would perhaps, praying in his heart and mind, mention only the Pipe, but he would know what the Pipe represented, namely, only a powerful means used so that his prayer would be hearkened to by the Supreme Being. We may add incidentally that mention in the course of this discussion of the Sinkaetk custom of praying to the sweat-lodge caused hearty laughter by The Boy and Thomas Main.

The man or woman about to cover the Pipe would bring the offering to the keeper's lodge, enter it and proceeding clockwise put the offering on top of the bundle, draped or wrapped lengthwise if a robe or textile with the ends hanging loose, and saying: "Here's your wrapping, Flat Pipe (or Little Turtle). This is what I promised you. I have carried out my vow." Meanwhile the keeper would have put peppermint on the sacred hearth to make a smudge. The coverer would touch the Pipe bundle, put his or her arms around it, and might pray at length, asking and thanking for favors.

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The keeper, too, might pray, and might paint the face of the coverer with red bands across the forehead, and under the jaws and chin, and three dots, one on each cheek bone and one on the bridge of the nose,—the band on the forehead representing the above; that under the jaws and chin, the earth; the dots on the cheeks, sundogs.

It was a common custom for the keeper or his wife to provide a meal for the coverer. When Mary Eraux' mother used to cover the Pipe, the co-keeper would say: "Whenever anybody gives my Pipe a robe, I always feed them." So her mother would come back after a little while and eat. If the coverer had just eaten and when so offered food could not eat it, in order to take it home to eat he would have to pay a small "fine," e.g., a pocketknife or handkerchief, or to tell the required number of personal war-deeds, or else the keeper might volunteer to tell his own.

When some years ago Coming Daylight returned from Yellowstone Park with a sack of real buffalo chips, she went to the house of Horse Capture, the Flat Pipe keeper at the time. He at once made a smudge. She removed the "coverings" from off the Pipe bundle, put a new robe on the outside case of the bundle, put her arms around the bundle, and said to the Pipe: "I want you to have mercy [pity] on me. I am looking for good health, and good health for my children so they will grow up to be strong." Then she went on and made quite a long prayer, and at the end put all the "coverings" back on the bundle. Then she left the house, returned entering the house by the kitchen to observe the clockwise rule, gave Horse Capture and his wife the precious

*796 buffalo chips she had brought back, and sat down. They then heard a "terrible groan" from the room where the Pipe was kept. Horse 782 Capture and his wife seemed surprised and did not know what to make of it. The groan sounded to Coming Daylight more as if it said "Yes." After this all sat down to dinner. Afterwards Horse Capture's wife gave Coming Daylight a big buggy-parasol, a very expensive present. "They never say: 'I give you this for that,' but any little thing you do for the Pipe, like picking mint for it, the co-keeper would give you something for it."

When a number of "coverings" would accumulate on the Pipe bundle they would be hung elsewhere in the keeper's lodge, and from time to time the "coverings" would have to be ritually disposed of by the keeper with the full sweat-lodge rite. The keeper would detail a couple of young men to help him prepare the "coverings" and to make the sweat-lodge. The "coverings" might be tied to the sweat-lodge pole, as in the seasonal rite, or might just be brought as such by the co-keeper or an attendant to the sweat-lodge. Here, in the latter case, before the sweating proper began, they were brought in clockwise and given to the keeper. He would dip his right hand in the black charcoal paint, and touch each covering three times in three different places. Then he would gather up all the coverings, lift them up over the ascending smudge, lower them in three stages, move them around in three clockwise circles, and hand the whole bunch to the first man on his left, from whom it was successively passed till it reached the door. Here attendant two took the bunch of coverings and deposited it on the top of the mound in front of the sweat-lodge.

The coverings were finally taken by one of the attendants way out on the hills or elsewhere, as was done with other offerings. [43] Or else the keeper could call together the orphans and other 736 poorer children and distribute the coverings to them, for it was believed that being good to children, especially needy and orphaned ones, was pleasing to the Supreme Being. Coming Daylight's uncle, Crow Bull, when keeper of the Flat Pipe, used to distribute the coverings to the very poor and needy old folks. If among the coverings there was tobacco, this was not deposited out on the hills but was given to the old people. The buffalo kidneys and ribs offered as "coverings" after a hunt were left all day on the bundle and late in the evening given to some of the very poor children to eat. 796* [782]

Moving, carrying and handling the Flat Pipe bundle in camp and on the march were the exclusive responsibility and privilege of the Flat Pipe co-keeper. Whenever the bundle was to be transferred from its tripod to its bed or vice versa, to be hung up over the door of the keeper's lodge, to be carried to and from the sweat lodge or Sacrifice Dance, or to be transported from camp site to camp site, she was the one to do it. 482 778

Exceptions to the rule, in emergency, were rare. One such exceptional instance was reported by Coming Daylight. On one occasion the Flat Pipe bundle was still outside the keeper's lodge when darkness set in, and both the keeper and co-keeper were away. In such a case an ex-co-keeper would usually substitute for the co-keeper, but there was none around. It was not customary to leave the Pipe out at night, or even to leave it alone. So Coming Daylight's maternal aunt said to her: "We will put this poor thing [the Pipe] in. Your father once owned a pipe [not the Flat Pipe], so you should not be afraid to handle it." So the two went out and gathering sage rubbed themselves all over with it. Then together they unloosed the bundle and started to carry it in, all the time praying: "We are children of an ex-keeper and this is just the same as if our fathers owned this Pipe. We have the right to handle it. We hate to see you stay out over night. It would be bad if you stayed out. We are bringing you in because we pity you. We hope you will have pity on us, and that we will have long life." And Coming Daylight, about 86 years old in 1940, ended her account by remarking that her prayer was heard because she had lived so long, even though in these last years her legs were unsteady and every little while she fell down on her buttocks!

Coming Daylight also mentioned one other old woman, Mouse, who, although not the co-keeper, used to volunteer to carry the Pipe bundle on her back when the people were on the march from camp site to camp site. This was apparently at a period when horses were very scarce, only one or two to several families, and dog travois had to be Resorted to. [492]

482 778 dog travois had to be resorted to. The old woman thought that she was doing the Pipe a great favor and that her packing it would bring her good fortune.

The co-keeper when afoot and carrying the Pipe bundle in her arms held it under her left armpit with her left arm encircling it and her right arm and hand supporting it from beneath, and with the stem-end of the bundle pointing forward.

482 778 783 The co-keeper was usually very careful to observe the stem-end-forward rule. But if through forgetfulness or absent-mindedness she had carried the bundle bowl-end forward or had hung it on its tripod with the bowl end to the east, she would be to blame. The keeper, co-keeper or Pipe child would be told by the Pipe in a dream about the error while sleeping [that night] on the Pipe bed, and she would have to be ritually cleansed. The keeper and co-keeper would sit on their haunches on the Pipe bed facing each other, he facing east and she west. Peppermint was put on the incense hearth to make a smudge. The keeper then took a bunch of sage brush, some of which he usually kept ready, held it up in his right hand, and prayed to the Supreme Being to release his wife, to take away her mistake, and not to be angry over it. Then he lowered the large brush by three stages, circled it three times around the incense, and "sort of brushed" her with it three times from her head down her right arm and from her head down her left arm, and three times from her chin up over her face to her occiput. Then he laid down the bunch of sage brush between the incense hearth and south edge of the Pipe bed, and said to his wife: "Take this sage brush out." She took it, walked out with it clockwise, turned to her left, that is, in the east, walked a good way off, and lowering it in the usual three stages deposited reverently on the ground.

778 788 Grasping and depositing the Flat Pipe bundle were regularly done by the co-keeper in a ritually prescribed manner. Before actually taking hold of it, she would face it, and three times pose at shoulder height her empty right hand, palm down with fingertips joined and pointing away from her, make a motion or pass with her hand toward the bundle while at the same time spitting a bit of chewed peppermint on it and then bring her hand back to

position. In depositing the bundle on its bed, she would lower it gently in three stages, spitting at each one. 778 [788]

When the people were staying for any length of time at a given camp site, the Flat Pipe bundle, which was always kept inside the keeper's lodge during the night time, would regularly in good weather be taken out early in the morning at breakfast time by the co-keeper, with the customary grasping and carrying ritual, and hung up, stem-end pointing east just over the door of the keeper's lodge, not on its tripod. The outside of the keeper's lodge around the door up to full reaching height, about 6 or 7 feet, was painted red. The thong handle of the bundle was looped over the two projecting ends of a stout pin, skewered horizontally in the tent cover, on the immediate line above the door at the upper edge of the red-painted area.

The bundle would hang over the door all day until about sundown when it would be brought back into the lodge for the night. 482 778 In bringing it back, the co-keeper walked out of the lodge, unhooked and grasped the bundle, turned clockwise, walked all around the lodge clockwise, entered the lodge, proceeded clockwise to the incense hearth, dipped the stem end of the bundle three times in the smudge, and deposited the bundle in the usual ritual manner, as above described, at the far north end of the Pipe bed. 778

The final decision as to when and whether the camp, in which the Flat Pipe chanced to be, was to be moved was made by the head man especially the band chiefs and in the olden days the tribal chief too, the keepers having perhaps taken the initiative in calling them together. [622 623] 361 They would notify the Pipe keeper. Early the next morning the co-keeper with the usual ritual observances would take the Pipe bundle from its bed and carry it and its tripod outside the lodge a little to the north thereof, set up the tripod and hang the bundle on it. The tripod would be set up with two of its legs closer together, and with the third leg stretched out farther, its upper end projecting a little beyond the junction of the three legs. On this projecting end the bundle was hung by the thong handle looped over the end. On other occasions the bundle was hung on the tripod stem-end pointing east. But on this occasion the rule was superseded by another, namely, the third leg

778 had to point in the direction in which the camp was to move. This orientation could be discerned from a considerable distance. The people would already know that camp was to be broken that day and early in the morning would go out to see how the bundle hung and which direction the third leg of the tripod was pointing.

778 When the camp families were packed and all ready to start off,
the Flat Pipe's own special horse was led up to the tripod where
492 the bundle hung. The co-keeper, before taking hold of the bundle
484 made the customary three passes at it spitting chewed peppermint
at the bundle with each pass, lifted it off the tripod, turned around clockwise, made three motions with the bundle, stem-end forward, as if putting it on the saddle (note saddle of Flat Pipe in Plate 2A), and at the third actually put it there where it rested crosswise, held taut with thongs to both sides of the saddle and under the horse's belly. Then she mounted from the right side her own horse, and started off leading the horse that carried the Pipe bundle, the latter horse coming behind her own, not abreast.

Sometimes the co-keeper, *ad libertum,* would carry the bundle
[482] herself on her own back, putting it on her back before mounting
her horse and carrying the bundle with the thong handle resting over her upper arm just below the bend of the shoulder and the bundle itself at her back. To help her mount so burdened they would lead her to a side hill. The Boy's mother, when co-keeper, at times on the march used to say that the bundle so carried felt heavy at the start, but after a while felt light. When the co-keeper so carried the bundle, leading the Pipe's own horse, she followed the keeper. Occasionally the Pipe bundle was carried on a travois, but we obtained no details on this point.

484 On the march, while scouts were not uncommonly sent out ahead
to find the best route or watch for enemies, the co-keeper with
778 the Pipe-bundle led the cavalcade itself. No one could go in front
of her: if any one did, bad luck would befall him. If both the Flat and Feathered Pipes were with the caravan, the Flat Pipe was in the lead, next the Feathered Pipe, then the chief or chiefs, finally the body of the group. The keepers rode immediately behind the respective co-keepers, never before. If the caravan were on the way to one celebration or a Sacred Dance, the group giv-

ing the Dance came right after the Pipe or Pipes. If there were no sacred pipe with the caravan, the chief or head man rode first in the line of march. 484 778

On the march, which was ordinarily at a slow pace, no one stopped to smoke or for other reason unless the co-keeper halted. When they stopped, usually about half-way, she would hang the bundle on the tripod, all by itself away from and well forward of the crowd in the direction of the trek. All stopped behind it; they did not surround it; it was always ahead of them in the direction they were heading. No one moved to re-start ahead until the co-keeper did so.

If the route of march necessitated crossing a big river, such as the Missouri River, the procedure in Coming Daylight's words, was as follows. [505] "They put the Flat Pipe bundle in a bullboat. Of course there was no child in the bullboat. They chose two young men, popular and heroes, to lead that bullboat across. These two would be all painted red. They had robes rolled up and when they got midway across the river they put the robes in the water as [782] offerings. As soon as they started across my grandmother up on the cliff at the river's edge would start cheering and singing the victory song. This song is a strong-heart song. When there was something hard to do they sang this song. They would say the names of the two young men and sing this song to encourage them. They all moved the bullboat into the water and different people would put into it various things to be thrown into the middle of the river. The keeper and co-keeper who owned the Pipe were not supposed to swim or bathe in water. Both could ride in this bullboat with the Pipe, but the woman always did. The two young men [on horseback apparently] held the robes [offering mentioned above] in one hand and pulled the bullboat with the other. The Pipe in the bullboat was the first of the caravan to cross the river. After all the people had gotten across the old women had a victory dance and sang for the crossing."

On arrival at the new camp site the co-keeper would hang the Pipe bundle on the tripod at a spot just to the north of where the keeper's lodge was to be erected. Then the new sage bed and sacred hearth were made, and the bundle brought into the lodge, 484 778 with the rites previously described. On a day's journey it may be noted, the bundle would have been placed on the tripod in the open three times: before starting out, about half-way, and on arrival at the new camp.

782 [224] The killing of a pure white buffalo, a pure albino,—always a cow never a bull, according to Gros Ventre tradition,—was an extremely rare occurrence. The killer could keep it himself, give it to the Flat Pipe keeper, or offer it as a sacrifice. This sacrificial rite was last held when the Boy's father, Lame Bull was a young man, probably in the 1850's, and served as a calendrical date: "at the time the white buffalo skin was offered as a sacrifice." The Boy, our sole informant on this rite, could give only fragmentary data on it, gotten from his father who had witnessed only that one time in his life.

If the killer chose to offer the albino skin as a sacrifice, he had to vow, and then had formally to notify the keeper of the Flat Pipe. Carrying it he went clockwise round the camp circle on the inside and brought it to the keeper's lodge. The keeper painted [302] the man's face with charcoal paint (not red), the ritual color for sacrifices, with a circular band around his face, on the forehead, the sides of the cheeks near the ears, and under the jawbones and chin, and with also a star on the bridge of his nose. The circle, Lame Bull told the Boy, represented the sundog; the star, the sun. A procession in which the keeper, co-keeper, Pipe child, ex-keepers, ex-co-keepers, the two attendants, and all the people took part started at the keeper's lodge and marched clockwise all around the camp circle, very slowly, with three stops (probably at the west, east and south) for prayer, till they reached the sweat-lodge near the keeper's lodge. The albino skin was given a touch of charcoal paint, as in other sacrifices, but The Boy did not know other details of the special rite used in preparing the skin, nor did he know who carried it in the procession. On arrival of the procession at the sweat lodge, the main body of the people went away, but the small group who were to sweat remained and went through the whole sweat-lodge rite at which the albino skin was hung up on the sweat-lodge pole and after which, in accord-

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ance with given practice it must have been carried away on a hill or elsewhere.[7]

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[7] In 1948 The Boy gave a detailed description of the rite should the killer of an albino or "beaver" buffalo present the skin to the Pipe, rather than offer it as a sacrifice. He said that in this case, the man presented the green hide to the Pipe with a ritual directed by the keeper and included the painting of the donor. The keeper then called in two young women known to be expert tanners, received them ritually, and instructed them in procedures to be followed in tanning this particular hide. He made a crown, bracelets and anklets of twisted sage for each woman while singing a special song (not recorded by Cooper). When the hide was dressed there was a big feast at the keeper's lodge at which the keeper ritually painted the skin red. The keeper gave the donor of the skin the choice of any horse from all except one of his herd; to each of the women tanners he gave three valuable presents. [R.F.]

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CHAPTER IV

THE FEATHERED PIPE AND OTHER PIPES

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Our information is less full and more fragmentary on the Feathered Pipe than on the Flat Pipe, especially regarding ritual details. Our chief informants were Al Chandler, Garter Snake, Jim Shortman, Charles Buckman, The Boy, Thick, Thomas Main and Turn Toes. Additional information was given by Cora Chandler, Singer, and Mary Ereaux. The Boy, our main informant on the Flat Pipe, had never been intimately associated with the Feathered Pipe, as he had been with the Flat Pipe, but he gave us many details, and especially six of the Feathered Pipe songs recorded (Nos. 45-46, 126-129). Al Chandler had been chosen as attendant at one of the more important rites; Garter Snake had been Pipe child, beginning at the age of six or seven, during part of the keepership of her father, Bull Lodge; Jim Shortman recalled much from the time when his father had been keeper. Garter Snake, blind, of keen memory and now a practicing Catholic, before giving her account knelt down, blessed herself and prayed to Ixtcibɔni:həhat; for, she said, this Pipe was given from heaven. (For her own and other versions of the origin of the Feathered Pipe, see No. 6 in Appendix.) She was particularly concerned to tell truthfully what and only what her father had told her or what she had herself seen and experienced. All of the above informants had witnessed or participated in some of the Feathered Pipe rites. So far as we could discover, however, no one Gros Ventre at the time of our field work was familiar with the whole cycle of rites or with all the details of any of the more important ones. Much is lost for good. Our task has been to salvage what we could and to put together the scattered fragments, leaving many lacunae. In presenting the data we have, we shall follow the same order as has been followed in describing the Flat Pipe.

KEEPER OF THE FEATHERED PIPE

The terms for the keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child of the Feathered Pipe were the same as those for the keeper, co-keeper and Pipe child of the Flat Pipe. 793

Apparently the same high qualifications were required in the keeper of the Feathered as in the keeper of the Flat Pipe. Those specifically recorded by us were: "he had to be some good man and wealthy and noted"; "he had to be a man of intelligence to learn and know the rites and traditions and to maintain the dignity of the ceremonial." In actuality, not all keepers measured up to these lofty standards, as some of our informants emphasized, with ample supporting evidence.

As with the Flat Pipe, succession to the keepership could be either appointive or elective or else volunteer. According to the origin story of the Feathered Pipe, the man to whom the Pipe was first given, appointed, apparently on his sole authority, his uncle as keeper and turned over the Pipe to him. [428]

The recent history of the Feathered Pipe for about the last 100 years can be pieced together from data furnished by Garter Snake, Al Chandler, The Boy, and Thick. 793 174

Iron Necklace was keeper somewhere around 1850.[1] He was succeeded by Big Beaver. Bull Lodge succeeded Big Beaver, his sister's husband as keeper. Garter Snake, daughter of Bull Lodge, became Pipe child at the age of six or seven. Bull Lodge had wanted to keep the Pipe until his son, Otter Robe, came of age and then to transfer it to him. But in 1879 or 1880 Bull Lodge was asked for it, asked four times for the Pipe by Sitting High, so he had to give in and transfer it to the latter. Sitting High held the keepership a long time, in fact until his death in 1905. This break with the traditional rule of a maximum 12 years is probably accounted for by the cultural disintegration which set in after the disappearance of the buffalo. As Garter Snake expressed it: "The new life had come in and there was no one to transfer the Pipe to." Little Man, Al Chandler's adoptive father, was Sitting High's son, and Al lived as a boy with Sitting High in the

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[1] The Boy in 1948 told a long story about his grandfather, Crow Moccasin, who was keeper of the Feathered Pipe probably around 1830-1840. [R.F.]

173 latter's lodge where the Feathered Pipe was kept. When Sitting
High died in 1908, at the age of 92, his only surviving widow,
174 Kills in the Night, moved over with the Pipe to her uncle, old
Sleeping Bear, who took charge of the Pipe. In 1910 Sleeping
Bear gave the Pipe to Curly Head, the last keeper of it, who kept
it until his death in 1937 (or 1938).

About 1930, during Curly Head's keepership, a certain young Gros Ventre, a cowboy (son of Bradley), had to pass through Curly Head's place at Lodge Pole. Curly Head gave him something to eat. The young man was looking at the Feathered Pipe bundle and noted that the wrapping of Hudson's Bay Company cloth was old. "That wrapping is old," he said, "I'll buy another for you." "All right," said Curly Head, "I am glad. We will discard the old wrapping."

The young fellow forgot all about the matter until the following summer, when in a dream someone said to him: "When are you going to buy that new wrapping for the Feathered Pipe?" This happened far from here. The young man was worried and made a special trip back to Curly Head, told him about his dream, and asked: "What shall I do?" "You better buy the wrapping you promised," said Curly Head. "This Pipe is no ordinary thing. Even though you were perhaps not serious when you made the promise, you better be on the safe side." "Where can I buy this kind of cloth?" he asked. "At Browning," said Curly Head, "You
better go there or else send for it." "I will," said the young man.
[165] The latter went away, and shortly after, while herding sheep, he
was killed by lightning. And the Gros Ventres wonder today
(1939) if this young man's death was a punishment for his failure
to keep his promise.

Before his death Curly Head, knowing that his health was failing, came to Garter Snake and said: "Sister, you will be surprised some day. I'll keel over and quit. You were raised with the Feathered Pipe. Keep it as a keepsake." "I am blind," she said, "I cannot see. How can I take care of it? You better leave it in care of some one else." "All right," said Curly Head, "I'll leave it with Iron Man. But you see that it is not disposed of in any way. This Pipe has to remain with the Gros Ventres forever. Remember that the Feathered Pipe is the main hope of the Gros Ventres, and as long as you live see that they do not sell it or part with it." 793 174

So at Curly Head's death the Pipe fell to Iron Man II (Tall Jack), a relative of Curly Head, who since 1937 (1938) has looked after it. In 1948 it was still being kept in Curly Head's house.[3]

The normal term of keepership of the Feathered Pipe was 793 four years. The very first keeper held the office 80 years, according to the origin story given by Garter Snake, and some later ones, according to tradition, up to 20 years, but the usual limit was supposed to be at most two or three terms, that is eight or twelve years.

There was always a Pipe woman or co-keeper, wife of the keeper. She handled the Pipe bundle and in general had about the same ritual and other duties toward it as had the co-keeper of the Flat Pipe toward the Flat Pipe bundle. The Feathered Pipe keeper [841 595] had to have at least two wives, for during her menses the co-keeper could not handle the bundle and had to sleep and live outside the keeper's lodge and another wife of the keeper had to substitute for her in the handling and care of the bundle.

There was always, too, a Pipe child,—a girl, unless the keeper had no daughters, in which case a son could be selected by him as Pipe child. Thus the oldest son of Sitting High, who had no daughters, became Pipe child. The Pipe child was not necessarily appointed at once by the keeper on assuming the keepership. Garter Snake was not made Pipe child until she was about six years old. Iron Necklace who had been Feathered Pipe keeper some

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[3] In the summer of 1951, Iron Man, assisted by The Boy, had a ceremonial opening of the Feathered Pipe bundle. Dr. Louis B. Hagener, Professor of Biology of Northern Montana College, accompanied by his wife, and Dr. Otto Nitz, Professor of Chemistry, now at Stout Institute of Technology, Menominie, Wisconsin, were among the spectators. The pictures in Plates 2 B-C, 3 A-D, were taken by Dr. Nitz at that time. Dr. Hagener has kindly supplied information regarding the 1951 ceremonial. He writes under date of Aug. 8, 1954, as to final disposal of the Feathered Pipe bundle: "Since the young people were so apathetic over the bundle, its significance, and the ceremony, Iron Man and his wife had resolved not to open it again. They were debating as to whether it should be given to a museum or whether the tribe would outfit Iron Man and his wife for a journey and permit them to dispose of it somewhere in the mountains." [R.F.] [114 796 186]

793 years before her father's keepership was the one who was asked to "confirm" the appointment of Garter Snake [ritual details not obtainable by us] and was given a good horse for performing the ceremony.

The Pipe was addressed and spoken of as the child of the keeper and co-keeper, and they looked upon themselves as the father and mother of the Pipe. When the Pipe talked to them in their dreams it addressed them as "father" and "mother" respectively. To the Pipe child, the Pipe was brother. The Pipe was very jealous, and wanted to be the lone child and so all the keeper's children except the Pipe child were supposed to be put out of the keeper's lodge. According to Garter Snake, however, her father's other children slept in his lodge, not however with the keeper and co-keeper but in separate beds. Garter Snake herself when very young slept with her parents, but later on a separate bed near the foot of theirs. Al Chandler when he was a little boy used to stay with his grandfather, Sitting High, then keeper. The latter would make a bed for the boy right under the Pipe—"which usually was not allowed, [782] but he did it because I was an orphan, and he would pray that I would be healthy, live to old age, and everything like that. He did that every night as long as I was there."

If a new keeper happened to have a young wife with an infant, they were sent to another lodge.

Some of the activities, duties, and attitudes of a Pipe child can be gathered from the following account by Garter Snake of her own experiences.

"When I was the Pipe child, whenever my mother took the Pipe bundle outside of the lodge, I took the tripod out after her. I was told how to set the tripod when the camp was about to move, with two of the legs close together and the third far out. Whenever my father made smudge with pine needles, he would give me some and I would chew them and would hold my hands over the smudge. Then I would rub my left palm up my right arm, my right palm up my left arm, then both palms from the top of my head down the sides of my neck and down my breast.

"I did not have any duties beyond helping my mother when she brought the Pipe bundle out and brought it in.

[784] "I was forbidden to pick peppermint. If peppermint was mixed

in dried pounded meat, I was not allowed to eat the meat. If a coyote or wolf were killed, I was not supposed to touch it. These were the only two prohibitions I was under. 793 784

"If anybody vowed to be painted by the keeper, I would be present at the rite next to my mother and sit there through the ceremony. 793

"Whenever while I was Pipe child I got sick my father would put pine needles on me, and then he would take down the bundle and put it on my parents' bed, and would say to me: 'Put your arms around your brother [the Pipe] and pray to your brother so you may get well.' The Pipe keeper and his wife claim the Feathered Pipe as their son and tell their children that the Pipe is their brother. When I put my arms around the Pipe I was told to say to the Pipe: 'My dear brother, have pity on me, that I may get well of my illness.' [755]

"Of course the Pipe was not human but because I was a baby when my father got it I grew up with it and thought just as much of it as of my own blood relatives. When my father transferred the Pipe to Sitting High I was outside playing. When I was coming home I saw the bundle at Sitting High's door, and when I saw it I started to cry, and when I saw my father I said to him: 'Why did you give my Pipe away?' It was just like a person leaving. I was lonesome for it, and felt just as if I had lost a relative or friend. And all through my life I have felt the same toward it. All through my life I have made it a point to be present at any Feathered Pipe ceremony. And whenever I went to any ceremony, I would bring something for it. Since I joined the Catholic Church I stopped doing this, but even now I feel: 'It's all alone. I pity it.' [795]

"When while I was Pipe child I had been out playing and in the evening would come home and see the Pipe bundle over the door, I would stand and look at it a long time and would say: 'Feathered Pipe, I am going into our lodge now.' Once when I was sitting on the bed in the lodge I got to thinking, and all the folks were there, and I said: 'Feathered Pipe, my dear brother, look down on me and watch over me.' I was not told to say this, and I do not know what made me say this prayer to the Feathered Pipe. [782]

"My father used to tell me: 'This Pipe was given by the Su-

793 preme Being through Bha'a, the Supreme Being is the father of the Pipe.'"

In the cases where the new keeper was elected in secret conclave and not told or asked beforehand, at night after the camp was asleep a group sneaked up to the electee's lodge, and one of the group carrying the feathered stick from the Pipe bundle entered the lodge. If the electee tried to escape, the watchers outside would grab and hold him. The electee was raided and lost everything, his lodge and horses and other belongings,—just as the man to whom the Pipe had first been given from above lost everything. Afterwards, however, the relatives and friends of the electee, anybody that could, would give a new lodge, new bedding and other lodge equipment, and horses,—as was done to the first owner and keeper.

After being grabbed, the new keeper and his wife were carried —they did not walk—to the lodge of the retiring keeper who put a cloth over their heads. They were thus in the dark and didn't know what was going on until a special song was sung and the cloth removed. We were unable to secure many details of the transfer rite. The rite included, of course, ritual and other instruction of the new keeper, and co-keeper for which he had to pay handsomely,—for instance, a horse for a ritual song taught him. For [431] these payments he had to count on his relatives and friends who, later in the course of his keepership, would receive equivalent presents in return. A central feature of the transfer rite was the new keeper's dance with the Pipe. In earlier times, in fact up to about 1905, it was only the keeper, we were informed, who could dance with the Pipe and this only at the transfer rite.

346 Apparently the lodge of the Feathered Pipe keeper was very like that of the Flat Pipe keeper, and under similar respect taboos, 353 but we were able to obtain only fragmentary specific information.

[784] At the back of the lodge, in the place of honor opposite the door, was the Pipe bed of sage brush, laid down with the tip ends pointed toward the lodge center, and covered with a white buffalo robe. When the group was camping at the same site for any length of time, in good weather the Pipe bundle was hung up during the daytime over the lodge door.

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784 All movement within the lodge was clockwise. There could be

no crying by children in the lodge; if a child started to cry it was 346
taken out at once. Dogs were not allowed in the lodge, nor could 784
the keeper use a dog robe. Bones could not be broken in the lodge
to extract marrow, as in the case of the Flat Pipe lodge and under
the same penalty. War-deed contests in the Feathered Pipe lodge [779]
were prohibited and penalized, as in the Flat Pipe lodge,—with [696]
a four-day penalty. The right of asylum was recognized exactly
as in the case of the Flat Pipe keeper's lodge.

The lodge occupied a place of honor in the camp circle, but 361
whether opposite the opening of the circle or just in front of the
keeper's band is controverted, as in the case of the Flat Pipe
keeper's lodge (see p. 58).

The prerogatives and restrictions attaching to the keepership 793
of the Feathered Pipe appear to have been quite similar in number
and kind to those attaching to the keepership of the Flat Pipe,
although we did not obtain as full details regarding them as we
did for the Flat Pipe. We shall mention only those prerogatives
and restrictions for which we obtained specific information. The
functional relation of the various prerogatives and restrictions to
the sacredness and dignity of the keepership was quite the same
for both Pipes.

In accord with the dignity of their office, the keeper and co-keeper were expected to comport themselves respectably on all occasions and to conform to the strict ethical norms to be mentioned presently.

The people were in turn expected to treat them with great re- 793
spect. Things asked for by the keeper had to be handed to him, 784
not thrown, exactly as with the Flat Pipe keeper, and under the
same penalty. If someone absent-mindedly stepped over the out-
stretched feet or legs of the keeper, the latter would keel over in
a faint and the co-keeper would have to smudge him ritually to
bring him to, or the offender would fall down with a "cramp."
Coming Daylight once saw a woman in a crowded place step over
the feet of the Feathered Pipe co-keeper. The woman "fell in a
cramp." Her mother got angry and upbraided the co-keeper: "You
ought to know better than to leave your feet sticking out." But her
sister went over and kissed the co-keeper and begged her in a nice
way to doctor the stricken woman. So the co-keeper got up and

793 784 blew medicine on the woman who then recovered. If you even passed in front of the keeper, you would "drop in a cramp."

Food offered in the keeper's lodge, even on a purely social and informal occasion, had to be eaten there and could not be taken out unless some one told a personal war-deed. This taboo applied even to an ex-keeper guest, although not to the actual keeper's [576] children. The keeper could break up the gathering by emptying his own pipe—a recognized Gros Ventre convention for hosts.

[821] If anybody threw water at the keeper or hit him with water, this would cause rain.

Where a group of men were seated in a row or crescent having a purely social smoke, the general procedure was as previously described. If the Pipe keeper were one of the group, the man passing the pipe to him on either the clockwise or return circuit would first make a gesture with it "to the rear between himself and the keeper," if you didn't do that the keeper would not accept it.

The powers of the Feathered Pipe keeper and co-keeper specifically recorded by us were similar, apart from control of storm, rain and flood and, as far as they went, to those of the Flat Pipe keeper and co-keeper. The weather control powers will be described later under Feathered Pipe ritual.

[753] Anyone who stepped in the track of the keeper or co-keeper got a fit, for the soles of their moccasins were kept treated with wild parsley.

The keeper and co-keeper acquired by reason of their office certain doctoring powers.

787 793 The keeper had marked dreaming and forecasting powers, just as the Flat Pipe keeper had, and his dreams when told to the people were "big news." In a dream he would, for instance, see animals fighting the Gros Ventres and this would be a warning to a war-raiding party to act discreetly. He would foretell from his dreams who would win in a prospective battle and how many would be killed. At the time the Flat Pipe was captured by the Assiniboine (see No. 8 in Appendix), the Feathered Pipe owner was fore-warned by the Pipe in a dream and he and his party escaped. If the keeper had a dream that foreboded evil fortune he would on waking talk to the Pipe and ask it not to let the evil

happen. If told in a dream, perhaps by the owl, of an impending 793 epidemic, he might call all the people to his lodge and ritually 787 paint them. If he dreamed of bad luck about to befall some individual in camp, he would tell him: "I dreamed that something was going to happen to you. You better make an offering. I will pray for you and try to avert the misfortune, but you must help."

In general the keeper and co-keeper of the Feathered Pipe were 793 expected to live strictly in conformity with Gros Ventre ethical 577 norms. Specifically recorded by us as unbecoming and forbidden to the keeper were: stealing, fighting, quarreling, losing temper, wife-beating, talking evil of fellow-tribesman, "talking dirty," threatening to kill, and, for more recent times, cursing and swearing like the whites.

The Feathered Pipe keepership seems to have involved for the 793 keeper and co-keeper about the same privations and restrictions 784 as did the Flat Pipe, although we obtained explicit information only regarding the following ones.

"The keeper of the Feathered Pipe was not supposed to comb his hair. It was all matted and made him look different from other men. You see him and you know at once he is a Pipe man. Sitting High's hair was that way. The locks were stuck together in the back. It made him look like a holy man. He never cut his hair and was not supposed to put water on it. His wife [the co-keeper] could comb her hair, but I do not think she could put water on it."[1]

The keeper could not bathe or swim in a stream; if he did, there would be rain. He could not wash his face but wiped it off with a cloth. He could not cut himself as a sacrifice or as a sign of mourning. He could not cry at mourning, not in the presence of the Pipe. Gambling by or with the keeper was forbidden, under the same penalty of life and with the same rite of absolution as described for the Flat Pipe keeper.

According to Al Chandler, the Feathered Pipe keeper and co-keeper, in contrast to the Flat Pipe keeper and co-keeper and

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[1] **In 1948 Al Chandler added: "The keeper cannot eat eggs, chicken, the head of any animal, nor dogs. In fact nothing about dogs was allowed near the keeper. Wherever they were, no one could walk in front of the keeper or co-keeper." [R.F.]**

793 also to the whites, both mounted and dismounted their horses from the right side, just as all other Gros Ventres did.

784 "You could not lend the Feathered Pipe keeper a horse, because if you loaned it to him this was just the same as giving it to him. You could not take it back once the rope was in his hands. The keeper never borrowed anything. If someone thought the keeper was short of something and without thinking said to him, 'Here is one you can use,' that was just too bad because that was really giving it to him."

[201] Apparently the keeper could not point at a person with his index finger, but would instead use his thumb.

793 624 The role of the Feathered Pipe keeper in the political life of the Gros Ventre was quite similar to that of the Flat Pipe keeper, as regards such things as decision when and whether to move camp, matters of public policy, and veto power thereupon.

FEATHERED PIPE AND BUNDLE

773 778 The Feathered Pipe was first given, as noted in the origin stories (see No. 6 in Appendix), from above by Bha'a, the thunder and storm being. Garter Snake's father, Bull Lodge, used to tell her that it was really given by I'xtcibani :hɔhat, the Supreme Being, through Bha'a; that the Supreme Being was the father of the Pipe; and that it was to remain forever with the Gros Ventres and never under any condition to be transferred to any other tribe. According to Gros Ventre tradition, while the Feathered Pipe is very old, it is not as old as the Flat Pipe; when the Feathered Pipe was first given to the Gros Ventres, they were already in the possession of horses. According to The Boy, the Feathered Pipe was first given after the Gros Ventres came to their present territory which had previously been Snake Indian country, but before the coming of the whites thereto. With the Pipe itself were given in the beginning the stone image or face, the whistle, and the staff, to be described presently.

778 The proper name of the Feathered Pipe was ana :θanitč (it has feathers).

276 We were unable to attend any unwrapping rite and to see the Pipe. It was described to us as being in one piece, of "smooth,"

"glistening" [no doubt, highly polished], very dark grey or greyish brown stone, with three or four humps on the upper surface of the stone stem part. Our informants, who had seen the Pipe, disagreed as to whether there are feathers on the Pipe itself, and one of them stated that it had looked different to him on the two occasions he had seen it. 778 276

In the Pipe bundle were many other sacred objects besides the Pipe itself. Most of these had their separate wrappings or cases, the Pipe itself being wrapped in buffalo hair. The first keeper, according to Garter Snake, wrapped the Pipe itself in a bit of white buffalo skin. The outermost wrapping of the Pipe bundle was, originally at least, of tanned elkskin, tied around with four strings. There was also, again originally at least, a bear robe cover for the bundle.[4] 778

The Pipe bundle would shake and quiver when there was going to be an earthquake. The keeper could then predict that the earthquake would occur soon, although he could not predict the exact time. Not so long ago Cora Chandler's old aunt saw the bundle quiver, and sure enough that summer an earthquake occurred. [782 823]

Informants consistently agreed that there were four main things in the bundle, and that two of the four were the Pipe itself and the carved stone face.[5] Most of them included the feathered stick among the four. As to whether the fourth was the whistle, the owl, or the crane, there was considerable conflict of opinion, a conflict we were unable to clear up.

The feathered stick, from which the Pipe itself derived its name,

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[4] Dr. Hagener noted at the 1951 opening that the innermost wrapping of the whole bundle was of "old bison leather" and the outer wrapping of modern cloth." [R.F.]

[5] Dr. Hagener stated in letter of Jan. 18, 1954, "The pipe displayed in the pictures [Plate 3, C and D] was not the chief pipe of the bundle (that having mysteriously disappeared). It was however made of the red stone commonly traded from the Minnesota area. Although there were other pipes in the bundle this was the only one we were permitted to see. Iron Man checked on the presence of other pipes by feeling inside the leather casings, but did not bring them out." Under date of Aug. 8, 1954, Dr. Hagener remarked: "Dr. Nitz was of the opinion that there were two somewhat similar pipes in the bundle, one of which had disappeared. The picture . . . is of the remaining one." [R.F.] [439 276]

778 was a wooden staff about three or four feet long, to which were attached feathers from "all kinds of birds," including the eagle, the feathers literally covering the staff. The staff itself was given the first keeper in the beginning from above, but tradition is not consistent as to whether it was already feathered or was later-feathered by this keeper. At any rate the feathers still on the staff are believed to be the original ones, are not broken off and are perfectly preserved. According to one report the staff has porcupine quill work on it; according to another, it is undecorated. The first keeper wrapped the stick in smoked skin, for which a wrapping of black and white cotton flannel was later substituted.

The image, called initeːatč (it is a person) translated "human [532] face," was described to us as about eight inches long, of stone, "with a trace of faded red in it" and looking like the "brown pottery of a teapot," of human shape, male according to one informant, female according to another. It was wrapped in buffalo hair and until Curly Head's keepership was rarely unwrapped, and even when unwrapped only the face was supposed to be exposed, by raising a bit of the cover, although Curly Head exposed the whole figure.[6] Formerly, according to Garter Snake, nobody was allowed to look at the face, except the keeper and even he could do so only now and then. Garter Snake, although Pipe child for six or seven years while her father Bull Lodge was keeper, had never seen it. Sitting High, who succeeded Bull Lodge, showed the face of the image very rarely, only once or twice so far as Al Chandler, his grandson, had heard, and even old-timers wondered what it looked like. Sitting High would take the wrapped image out of the large bundle and let you hold it and pray to it, and this oftener than he would the Pipe, but without uncovering it. When they talked to the image, they prayed for whatever they wanted, but did not mention Bha'a. Whom the image represented is not known: probably Bha'a, but this is uncertain. 778

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[6] Although this has not been confirmed, it is highly possible that the pipe shown at the 1951 unwrapping and pictured in Plate 3 C-D may actually be this "human face" or image. The stone and color of the pipe meet the specifications (cf. Dr. Hegener's comment as given in footnote 5), the plat- [123] form of the pipe is of about the right dimension, and one end thereof is carved in the form of a human face as can be seen in Dr. Nitz' photographs. Dr. Hagener noted on the back of the photograph in Plate 3 C that Iron Man allowed the picture to be taken only after long consultation with others and much hesitation. [R.F.]

In recent times, the last real keeper, Curly Head, had danced with the image, contrary to all the ritual rules. Curly Head is consistently reported by informants to have been very careless as well as poorly informed about the ritual and other observances connected with the Feathered Pipe keepership.

The face when exposed was apt to look different to different people on any one occasion as well as to the same person on different occasions. To one man the face seemed not to want to look at him; it "kind of turned away and sweated." To another observer, a woman, it appeared as "a rock that had two shining eyes." Al Chandler had seen the face three times. On each occasion it had a different expression: on the first it looked as if it were "smiling, sort of bashful;" on the second, "kind of sad;" on the third, "sad." On the one occasion on which his wife, Cora Chandler, had seen the face, it "seemed like it was looking away, and wouldn't look at her." 778 532

According to Al Chandler, if the face smiled, this was an omen that "everything was going to be good;" if it "looked in the opposite direction, something not good" would happen. According to Garter Snake, if when the keeper saw the face, it had paint on it, there would be plenty of food, no sickness, and so forth; if it had no paint on it, there would be sickness or other misfortune. 778 787

The whistle, of wood ("of an unknown kind of wood," according to Garter Snake), was given the first keeper from above. It was kept without wrapping in the Pipe bundle. 778 [534]

The owl in the bundle was the skin of a big owl, painted up, with few of the feathers still attached. The body was wrapped leaving the head and neck sticking out. This owl skin was apparently of modern introduction. According to Al Chandler, when a new keeper took over the Pipe, he could add to the bundle whatever he was told "by a voice" to add; Sitting High said he was told by God Himself to put that owl in the bundle. Sitting High used to talk a great deal to the owl. The owl's duty, accord-

778 ing to Garter Snake and Jim Shortman was to foretell epidemics or sickness of any kind by telling the keeper in his sleep.

In the bundle, put there by the first keeper, were the dried skins of all kinds of birds, "all the birds there are." He was told to collect and place there as many different kinds as he could find. These skins have been preserved to the present, the smaller ones not wrapped separately.[7] The bundle contained the skin of no four-footed land animal "of the earth" except the muskrat (and a gopher-like animal), but only skins of birds "of the air," for the Feathered Pipe came from above. Among the birds specifically mentioned to us as being in the bundle were: the crane, wrapped separately with only the head showing, and included by one informant, Al Chandler, among the four main things in the bundle; "a big white swan, one bird called Big Bird, a duck and grebes," were put in the bundle, according to Garter Snake, by the first keeper in obedience to directions gotten from above in dreams after the Pipe had been given him; what Al Chandler described as a "bird that is like two-in-one . . . a black speckled bird with two heads on it but only two legs . . . a water bird . . . but it does not fly." He had never heard Sitting High talk to this two-headed bird, but had heard others do so when "covering" the Pipe.

In the bundle was a little animal, almost as big as a gopher. Al Chandler had heard his grandfather mention it, but had never seen it, so did not know of what species it was. Curly Head, when keeper, would take this out of the bundle and rub little children with it from head to foot, four times, and would say the child would live to old age.

Other objects mentioned as being in the bundle were: wild parsley, and, originally at least, the black head-covering the first keeper had on after the storm; moccasins of "animal fur," given the first keeper and still preserved; some sticks for notching (purpose of notching not known by informant, Al Chandler). When Sitting

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[7] Dr. Hagener wrote under date of Jan. 18, 1954: "We were particularly puzzled by the various preserved birds. One very definitely looked like a parrot and yet they were not native to any of the area and not common as pets or items of trade so far as I have been able to discern. When questioned about it the Indians just said it was of great age." [R.F.]

High was keeper, he told Al Chandler that one of the sticks in 778
the bundle was already notched on two edges.

Like the Flat Pipe, the Feathered Pipe also had its own horse, 778
saddle, robe and blankets. The saddle, like a woman's saddle of
old times, had two horns from which fringes hung, and a beaded 492
crupper, and was painted red. The horse had to be the best available; no one could ride it, and if it died or was stolen, another had to be provided. The horse had to be very gentle.

Feathered Pipe Ritual

Certain general features characteristically recur throughout the 788
Feathered Pipe rites, some contrasting with those of the Flat Pipe rites, others common to both cycles.

The following are distinctive of the Feathered Pipe rites: association with air, sky, cloud, rain and storm; sweet pine for smudge; ritual number four; the drum accompaniment for songs; dancing with the Pipe.

The Feathered Pipe, as previously noted, "belongs up above the earth," having been given by Bha'a the storm being and during a violent thunderstorm. In prayer and other ritual [illegible]ularly associated with the sky and stor[illegible]nd storms.

For ritual smudge or incense [illegible]an evergreen, 788
the "sweet pine," nibiya :tə, were [illegible], in accordance
with directions given the original first keeper of the Pipe,—in 824
accordance too with the origin of the Pipe from "up above the earth," for the "sweet pine" tree grows only in high altitudes, up on the hills and mountains. The tree grows in the Rocky Mountains, the Sweet Grass Hills, and Eagle Butte, nearer to the present location of the Gros Ventres. The Boy has seen it growing in only about two places, to about 10 feet high on top of Bird Tail Butte in the Bear Paw Mountains, and to about five feet high with a trunk about four inches in diameter on the top of Mission Peak in the Little Rockies. We were unable to secure specimens for botanical identification. The tree was described as "like a fir," or "special kind of pine." It is presumably *Abies sp.* Ritually the needles were mostly used to make incense, and, only

788 exceptionally chewed in contrast to the Flat Pipe peppermint. A
824 bag, painted red all over, about a foot square, and fringed on three
sides but with no beading or other decoration, now hangs with the
[415] bundle and served, Al Chandler thought, as a container for the
dried sweet pine needles.

802 The ritual number of the Feathered Pipe, running all through the songs and ceremonies, was four, from the days of the first keeper down to most recent times.

The musical instrument used to accompany the songs was, like-
534 wise from the time of the first keeper, the drum. According to
778 Garter Snake, the first keeper's drum was painted half black to
represent black [storm] clouds and half red to represent the earth.
According to Al Chandler, the present drum, about 16 inches in
diameter and two inches deep, has a figure of a thunderbird
[532] painted in blue on the drumhead against a red background, to
represent Bha'a, with zigzag yellow lines from either side of the
head to the wings, to represent lightning. A long string is tied to
the drum. The drumstick is painted red, the distal end being covered
with buckskin "stuffed with something like cotton." Curly Head,
when keeper, never used the drum, or even took it out of its cover-
ing in which it hung next to the bundle, but Sitting High used it
regularly with the songs.[*]

788 According to Garter Snake, the first keeper had somebody make
him a wooden bowl, which still hangs with, not in, the Pipe bundle,
778 but we obtained no information on its type or use. She also stated
that the first keeper had a "gourd rattle" or four rattles, but Al
Chandler never saw any rattle kept or used with the Feathered
Pipe, and no other informant mentioned such.

The Feathered Pipe, like the Flat Pipe, was smoked, in ful-
[782] fillment of vows, but very rarely. More commonly, in contrast with
the Flat Pipe, it was danced with, earlier only by the keeper, in
recent decades by others.

788 General ritual features common to the Feathered Pipe and Flat Pipe,—clockwise movement, singing, the use of paint, of buffalo chips, and of sage, tobacco, larb and wild parsley,—have

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[*] The drum used in the 1951 rite was apparently undecorated. See Plate 2 C. [R.F.]

been previously described. Some additional data on tobacco and wild parsley as associated with the Feathered Pipe help fill out the picture. 788

The keeper of the Feathered Pipe raised tobacco, as did the very first keeper, whose tobacco patch was raided by the people after the great war exploit of his son, He-Who-Dreams-of-Bha'a. 793 249

If anyone but the keeper [or co-keeper] touched the "wild parsley" root the delinquent would get fits, out of which he could be brought only by the keeper working on him and "blowing this same stuff on him." Old Deafie did not believe all this and there were other skeptics, some of whom, even small boys, would touch "wild parsley" to test out the belief and would immediately have fits. Al Chandler had heard of many such cases, although he had never seen any himself. 793 278

Sitting High used always to carry a couple of pinches of wild parsley in a little buckskin pouch in his pocket to use against rattlesnakes. On one occasion when Al Chandler was about 18 years old he and his grandfather (Sitting High) were at Henry Martin's place on the Hays side of the Bear Paws. Al was eating cherries at the creek bank, saw a big rattlesnake, and shouted to his grandfather. The latter imitated the snake's angry rattle, wet the end of a six-foot willow stick and stuck it in a small bit of wild parsley, then touched the snake with this end, and so "knocked the snake stiff." Some time later Al went to the spot to look and there he found the rattler dead, "bloated and stinking." Al Chandler, on another occasion, near Snake Butte, saw his grandfather kill a rattler in the same manner, merely touching it with the wet parsley-treated end of a stick. 278

Among the skeptics was Little Man, son of Sitting High and Al's adoptive father. He would even eat "wild parsley." On one occasion, Little Man took Jimmy, Al's three or four-year-old son, with him to the creek to wash, and while there was about to give Jimmy a bit of the wild parsley to eat, "to give him the power to use," when Al happened to see what was going on and told Jimmy: "Don't, that is poison." Little Man laughed and said: "It won't hurt him. I am giving it to him. I was going to give him this power. What is the matter with you? Why don't you eat it?" But Al said:

278 "No, I might get fits." Little Man said: "I will eat it." This he then did. Al was worried about him and did not go to work, for he thought the old man would have fits, but actually nothing happened to him.

778 782 The Feathered Pipe was given originally by Bha'a or by the Supreme Being through Bha'a, who had control of thunderstorms. While individual petitioners in simpler rites such as covering the Pipe often addressed the Pipe itself in their prayers, and while in even more formal rites Bha'a was addressed, it appears to have been generally understood that the final word lay with the Supreme Being. The Pipe was given to pray through rather than to pray to, and Bha'a while exercising a certain autonomy in his office as ruler of thunderstorms exercised it as agent of and subordinate to the Supreme Being, and in the more formal ritual prayers of the Feathered Pipe, the Supreme Being's name always came first.

782 [821] Feathered Pipe rites were carried out mostly and mainly, although not exclusively, to ask for rain and for protection against threatening thunderstorms or against lightning and destructive high winds during them, and sometimes for cessation of floods and rains. Often however major or minor rites were carried out, with or without previous promise or vow, for ends not connected with weather, to ask for cure in illness, escape from grave danger, safe return from a war expedition, and so forth. In times of drought, Bha'a would be asked for rain. In the more elaborate rites commonly held each spring, petition would be made "To have rain and [in recent decades] good crops and grass, . . . to bless the earth so everybody will be happy and healthy and no bad luck for anybody all summer, so they [all the people] will live 'till next spring,' that is, so when this time of the year comes around again they will be here."

* 796 The more solemn Feathered Pipe rites, those at least which involved the sweat-lodge ceremony and the unwrapping of the Pipe bundle, were performed only during the period of the year when thunderstorms could be expected, namely from spring through to fall, and never during the winter months. The Pipe could, however be "covered" at any time of the year. In contrast to the Flat Pipe cycle, seasonal rites proper did not occur, although some rite was

commonly held in the spring, about June, at which rite the keeper would paint and fix up the Pipe bundle and its contents, and, if asked, might also paint the people. This spring rite was commonly carried out even though no one had vowed to dance with, see, or smoke the Pipe, but might be replaced by or combined with such a vowed rite.

In most cases, the most solemn Feathered Pipe rites were carried out in fulfillment of vows. When such rites were to be carried out young men would be sent out to the scattered camps to give notice of the approved time and place. All the people would be expected to be present at a transfer or vowed rite, but there was no rigid obligation in the matter and no penalty for voluntary absence. Garter Snake, for instance, specifically emphasized that she always attended Feathered Pipe rites, while Coming Daylight stated she "never used to go to them." According to one informant, children were not allowed to be present at such rites; according to another, they were allowed to be present when the Pipe was danced with, if they kept quiet, but if they became noisy, they were put out.

FEATHERED PIPE RITES

The more solemn of the Feathered Pipe ceremonies on which we obtained information were: the spring rite and rites carried out in fulfillment of vows to dance with the Pipe, to smoke it, to see it, to be painted, to pray with the Human Face, and to make a sweat-lodge for the Pipe. In most at least of these the general ritual pattern was similar to that of the more solemn Flat Pipe rites: the sweat-lodge ceremony and offerings, usually the first day; and on the second day unwrapping and rewrapping of the Pipe bundle, face-painting, the song cycle, and according to the vow, dancing, smoking, or observing,—all these second day rites in the keeper's lodge or a specially erected double lodge,—and the terminal feast. Given the somewhat sketchy and fragmentary nature of our data on the several more solemn ceremonies listed at the beginning of the present paragraph, we shall first describe the ritual components common to most or all of these

*796 ceremonies before taking up the ceremonies themselves one by one. And first of all the sweat-lodge and its ritual.

The Feathered Pipe sweat-lodge and sweating ritual came in when the Pipe itself was given by Bha'a to the first keeper.

*796 346 The sweat-lodge, large enough to accommodate several people, and with crowding up to ten or twelve, was constructed like the Flat Pipe sweat-lodge,—with the framework of willows about an inch in diameter tied to a ridge willow, with main entrance to the east, and with slanting cleared space from pit to door. According to Garter Snake, 23 willows were used, 11 on each side, plus the ridge willow; according to Jim Shortman, 24; according to Al Chandler, 26. The interior pit was circular, with a circular cleared bevel and groove around it, and about one to one-and-a-half feet deep. The three pi-shaped incense hearths of the Flat Pipe sweat-lodge were apparently lacking. The willows forming the door-posts were painted red "about half-way down." To the east of the lodge, on the east-west axis line, were, in order, the hearth for heating the stones, the mound (made of the dirt dug out to make the pit), the buffalo skull, and the offerings pole, just as in the Flat Pipe layout.

*796 The sweating rite corresponded, so far as our data go, with the Flat Pipe sweating rite. Presumably the offerings were ritually wrapped and tied, for they were later hung on the offerings pole, but we obtained no information on the wrapping ceremony. The offerings were tied onto the offerings pole; a special song was sung for this tying. A large pipe filled with tobacco, which rested slanting on the west side of the mound, bowl down, was taken, as in the Flat Pipe sweating ceremony, by an old man chosen for the purpose. Standing by the mound and holding the Pipe, stem up, in both hands, he gave the invitations to sweat. He invited by name first the Supreme Being, calling his name four times; next and finally each of the old men who were to sweat, calling each name only once. According to Jim Shortman, the Four Holy Beings, and four Pipe keepers (the original first one and three others) were also invited, with fourfold calling of the names. After all the invitees had entered the sweat-lodge, they smoked the common pipe.

According to Al Chandler, the Pipe bundle was not brought into the sweat-lodge. According, however, to Garter Snake, it was so brought, unwrapped, when a vow to make a sweat-lodge for the Pipe was being fulfilled. 796*

During the sweating the keeper whipped himself with his buffalo-tail whip; the others, with whips of horse or other hair. [785]

At some time during the sweating rite, presumably when the ordinary pipe was smoked, the Supreme Being was prayed to to grant the petitions of the people. Prayers might also be made to Bha'a for rain, change of weather, and so forth. The Feathered Pipe keeper however, according to Garter Snake, "prayed to nothing on earth, and all prayers and offerings were made [ultimately at least] to the Supreme Being. . . . In prayers [where both appealed to] the Supreme Being came first, and Bha'a came after him."

After the sweating rite was over, the offerings were taken down off the pole and disposed of as in the case of the Flat Pipe offerings.

Where a large crowd was expected to attend, the singing and associated ceremonies might take place, not in the keeper's lodge, but in a double lodge, facing east, like that used in the Flat Pipe transfer rite.

Smudging in Feathered Pipe ceremonies* conformed to the ritual number four. The keeper, or if he was busy, the co-keeper, held a bit of dried sweet pine needles, "first straight up for God, then to the left, then to the right, then down to the hearth," and put the needles right on the live buffalo chip, all but a very small pinch of the needles which he then put on the top of his head. To smudge her person, Garter Snake, when she was Pipe child, would be given a bit of pine needles to chew; then she would hold her hands over the smudge ascending from the hearth, rub her left palm up her right arm, then her right palm up her left arm, then both palms from the top of her head down the sides of her

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*Plate 3 A shows a round hearth used for smudging in the 1951 rite. Dr. Hagener under date of Aug. 8, 1954, writes: "I do remember that at least two colors were present in it and also that the fire was built on top of it. The fire was strictly a ceremonial one made with just a few sticks. Iron Man and his wife washed their hands in the smoke of it before opening the bundle." [R.F.]

*796 neck and down her breast. According to Al Chandler, first they would rub the left arm, then the right, then twice on the head. According to him, too, the co-keeper, before taking hold of the Pipe bundle to carry it, would smudge herself by putting first one foot and then the other over the ascending smudge, then rub her arms [and head?] as above.

The unwrapping and re-wrapping of the Pipe bundle at a rite in fulfillment of a vow to dance with the Pipe, and presumably at other rites, was carried out, according to Al Chandler in the following manner where the rite took place in the special double lodge. The co-keeper, when about to take hold of the heavy Pipe bundle in the keeper's lodge, would talk to it: "I am going to take you over there [to the double lodge]. Make yourself light." In carrying the bundle to the double lodge she would walk very slowly, making three stops on the way and a fourth just in front of the double lodge. This she entered on the left, proceeded clockwise, and deposited the bundle on a sage brush bed in the place of honor at the back of the lodge opposite the door. Before starting to unwrap the bundle, the keeper chewed a little sweet pine, spat on his fingers with it, made four motions or passes toward the bundle, and at the fourth touched and started untying the string at one end. We obtained no details on the unwrapping as distinct from the untying, or on the re-wrapping and re-tying. The bundle was re-tied after the dancing but before the terminal feast. After the whole dancing rite and terminal feast were over, the co-keeper took the bundle out of the double lodge and back to the keeper's lodge, without making the four stops on the way.

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533 The songs of the Feathered Pipe ritual were sung to the accompaniment of the drum and were less solemn, faster and more lively, than those of the Flat Pipe ritual. Informants agreed that there were many songs peculiar to the Feathered Pipe. According to The Boy at the more elaborate rites, sixteen different songs were sung, in four series of four each, each of the sixteen songs being sung four times. The total singings were thus 64 (4 x 4 x 4 x 4) as compared with the Flat Pipe 27 (3 x 3 x 3). We recorded six of these (Nos. 45-46, 126-29) as sung by The Boy, all six of them wordless. Number 45 was the song heard up in the air,

with drumming, by the first keeper of the Pipe; number 46, the 796*
song sung when the feathered stick was danced with; numbers
126-29, the songs sung while He-who-dreams-of-Bha'a painted 533
his shield. According to Jim Shortman there was a "song for everything" [of importance in the Pipe bundle], "even the owl." The Boy had heard one such song, containing the words: "owl he is telling me." According to the origin story of the Feathered Pipe, the first keeper at the very start was given and sang four songs; the others would thus have been added later, some at least during his life time.

The terminal feast with which the more elaborate Feathered 796*
Pipe rites ended differed it seems, only in minor details, from that of the Flat Pipe. According to Al Chandler, just before the eating began, a tiny piece of each kind of food prepared was given to the keeper. He then took one such piece, touched all the other pieces with it, held it up and prayed. He held it up to the Supreme Being, and prayed first of all to him, then to the Pipe, and sometimes to the Human Face and the owl. Sitting High used to talk to all four. But in all cases the Supreme Being was included and was addressed first. The Last Child was not mentioned. After the prayer was over, the keeper put the bit of food in the ground and left it there, not however for the Last Child. After the eating was over, if there was any food left which the people wanted to take out, some old man had first to tell one [or four?] of his war-deeds.

The paint on the bundle would wear off, and the bundle would need repainting at least once a year. While there was no seasonal spring rite proper, this repainting was usually done, by the keeper, in the spring time, about June, around the beginning of the thunderstorm season. This repainting rite was performed whether or not anyone had vowed a Feathered Pipe rite, but might be combined with such a vowed rite. In the course of this repainting rite, put on by the keeper and held in his lodge or in a specially erected double lodge, the keeper painted "the bundle red all over" and everything that belonged to the Pipe, including the Feathered Pipe drum and tripod, but did not dance with it. During the rite he would pray for rain and other blessings. If asked to do so, he would also paint the people. Everyone was free to attend the repainting rite, and big crowds would ordinarily come.

*796 In earlier times, well within the memory of older people now living, no one but the keeper could dance with the Feathered Pipe, and even he, according to Garter Snake and Charles Buckman, did so only at the transfer rite through which he received the Pipe.

The first exception to this rule was made in the case of Jim Snow, senior, about 1905. The story, as told to Charles Buckman by Jim Snow, Senior, himself was given us in detail by Charles Buckman and confirmed independently in part by Al Chandler.

Jim Snow was going blind, and neither Indian nor white doctors were successful in curing him. He then vowed that if he got his eyesight back he would dance with the Feathered Pipe. He did recover his sight. Then he went to Lame Bull and asked him what he thought about the vow. "Well," said Lame Bull, "I don't know whether this can be done or not. I will talk to the keeper to see what he will say." So Lame Bull laid the matter before Sitting High, the keeper at the time. "This is impossible," said Sitting High. "You know the rule that the only time you can dance with the Pipe is when you transfer it. Jim Snow could make a sweat-lodge for the Pipe or be painted, but he cannot dance with it."

Lame Bull and Sitting High, then, invited Bill Jones, White Bird, Black Bird and other old ex-keepers to meet with them to see what could be done. When they had all assembled, Sitting High addressed them: "Men, I have called you here to decide this matter for me. A young man has made a vow to dance with the Feathered Pipe. This, you all know, has never been done except at a transfer rite when the new keeper has to dance with the Pipe. Unless I transfer the Pipe to this young man, he cannot dance with it. I cannot allow this." They argued the case back and forth. Finally Bill Jones, who had once been a Feathered Pipe keeper, said: "You are right. But remember, times are changing. They are not like they used to be. The young man who made the vow did not know any better. If he had known that he could not dance with the Pipe unless it were transferred to him, he would not have done what he did. In the first place he is not old enough to be keeper of the Pipe. But since he made the vow and now can see and is ready to fulfill his vow, why not overlook the rule and permit him to dance with the Pipe?" The other old men said: "He [Bill Jones] speaks well. Let it be done that way." So Sitting High had to agree.

After this first exception was made to the traditional ritual rule, other people, men and women, non-keepers, were allowed to dance with the Feathered Pipe. Both Charles Buckman (b. 1874) and Thomas Main (b. 1890) have seen non-keepers dance with the Pipe, the latter when he was a young man about 17-18 years old. During the flu epidemic in 1918 the Pipe was danced with in fulfillment of a vow. And apparently it has been danced with from time to time, as a vow fulfillment, up to quite recent years, although some or much of the ritual has been lost to memory.

The following very incomplete ceremonial details are all we were able to gather from our older and middle-aged informants on this rite,—Al Chandler, Garter Snake, Coming Daylight, The Boy, Thick, Charles Buckman, Thomas Main, and Mary Ereaux.

The dancing rite after its introduction around the turn of the century was carried out only in fulfillment of a vow and only in the summer [or thunderstorm] time, not in winter. First came the sweat-lodge ceremony, with offerings provided by the vower. For the dancing proper and its concomitant ceremonies a capacious double lodge was erected, as large numbers of people, including women and even children, attended and participated. The poles of the lodge did not have to be painted. The vower's place was close by the keeper.

After the Pipe bundle had been brought in by the co-keeper and deposited on the sage bed at the far west opposite the door, the keeper smudged himself, and sang while the others present joined in. The bundle was then untied and unwrapped by the keeper and co-keeper, and the keeper painted the face of the vower first, and afterwards of the vower's relatives who had helped pay for the rite. Next the keeper, after smudging his own person, picked up the Pipe and smudged it,—bowl, middle part twice, and stem, in this order. Then he would pray, mentioning the Supreme Being first and the Pipe afterwards, but not the owl or other sacred objects in the bundle, asking that the rite would be carried out correctly without ceremonial mistake, and praying first for the

*796 vower and then for everybody. Next he smudged the drum four times,—the head, the rim twice, and the inside grip, in this order. Beating the drum he started to sing, and, as the others joined in the singing, he passed it to one of them.

Now the dancing began. The keeper himself danced first, at the far west end of the lodge in the place of honor, holding the Pipe stem up. Men and women, mostly relatives of the vower, would range themselves in a sort of half circle and dance with him, he alone holding the Pipe. The keeper continued dancing through the singing of four songs, and then passed the Pipe to the vower to dance with. The latter then danced with it through the singing of four songs. On the occasion of Jim Snow's vow fulfillment, after him danced Spotted Raven, no kin to Jim Snow, who for some reason had "thrown in" for the rite, and after Spotted Raven some of Jim's relatives, "maybe three or four" in turn,—in each case continuously dancing through the singing of four songs. In general, anyone, whether a relative of the vower or not, could dance with the Pipe if he or she paid to do so. Between each separate dancing and singing of four songs the Pipe was placed resting on its sage bed, and during these interim periods the participants and onlookers could chat, joke and have a social smoke, and, if they wished, go outside the lodge and walk around. Smudging [of Pipe? or of dancer?] preceded each dance.

[834] According to Coming Daylight, a woman who took part in the Feathered Pipe dance had to abstain from sexual intercourse beforehand, apparently for two or three nights. "If you break that rule, not long after you dance it, something happens to you, some kind of hard luck, and it really never fails." When the Pipe dance was held in 1918, "one woman danced it after she had seen her man and she almost burned up and the same happened to her son and lightning struck his horse." Presumably this taboo held for men too, but we failed to make inquiries on the point.

Not only the vower but also all others who wanted to dance with the Pipe had to make payment for the privilege. As Al Chandler explained: "Jim Snow [after his vow and cure] came to see the keeper first and told him how many horses he would give and then during the dance Jim Snow himself started putting down blankets and whatever he had to give and then his relatives and friends started putting down things to help him out. All those who are going to dance have to put things down. Nobody has to pay who is not going to dance. It cost Jim and his relatives plenty. Old Sitting High, the keeper, wouldn't keep all that stuff. He would give it out to his relatives and friends. I got a horse. The keeper is cleared out. His relatives have to help him lots when he gets the Pipe and then when he has the ceremonies he gets paid and then gives that stuff to his relatives to kind of pay back and in the long run they are not out anything. The more ceremonies the quicker they get their stuff back. Of course they don't figure on it, how much they will get, but that is the way it looks." 796*

According to Al Chandler, our chief informant on the ritual of the Feathered Pipe dance, only the Pipe itself was danced with. According to other informants, other objects in the bundle—the feathered stick and owl—were danced with. We could not clear up the point. Perhaps dancing with the feathered stick or owl was a separate rite, or else a latter (after ca. 1905) development of the Pipe dance rite.

According to Rufus Warrior, the dancing consisted in swaying of the body, rather, or more, than in movement of the feet. [535]

After the dancing was over, the bundle was re-wrapped and re-tied. Then came the terminal feast with food provided by the vower and his relatives and served by the "waiters." Lastly, the co-keeper took back the bundle to the keeper's lodge.

Our informants were in clear agreement that a person could vow to smoke the Feathered Pipe, but Garter Snake could recall no instance of such smoking, and Al Chandler had never witnessed such, although he had been told by Sitting High that it had been done. Coming Daylight, our oldest informant, stated that "lots of people" had smoked the Feathered Pipe, and that it was smoked much oftener than the Flat Pipe. Seemingly the rite, not so infrequent prior to the 1870's, was later given up. We could obtain no details on the ceremony, but no doubt the rite followed the general pattern: offerings and sweat-lodge; unwrapping, songs, rewrapping; and terminal feast.

782 Vows could be made just to see the Pipe. The vower would give money or a blanket or horse in payment. Everybody else who wanted to take a look had likewise to make some payment, putting down the payment after coming into the lodge. The men had to leave their hats outside the lodge. The observers were not painted during the rite. The co-keeper, as usual, handled the bundle itself, and the untying and unwrapping of the bundle and Pipe case were carried out with the usual ceremonies and songs. The sacred objects were spread out and the Pipe itself exposed. None of the observers was permitted to touch or pick up the Pipe or the sacred objects, under penalty of "getting fits." from the protective wild parsley. If requested by one of the observers, the co-keeper would lift the cover of the Human Face sufficiently to allow a glimpse. The rite ended with the usual terminal feast.

Anyone could vow to pray with the Human Face which was in the Feathered Pipe bundle. The payment,—maybe a horse and a little money,—was not so great as the payment for dancing with the Pipe. A double lodge was erected for the rite. The Human Face was not danced with, and, during Sitting High's keepership was not exposed for this rite. The vower was merely allowed to hold the Face in its thick wrappings and to pray to it for anything he wanted. At a later date, Curly Head when keeper exposed the Face often, a practice that ran counter to the older tradition and that was criticized as commercialization. Sitting High had exposed the Face to view only once or twice, so far as Al Chandler had heard, in the course of his three decades or more of keepership. Whether such exposure of the Face as occurred was part of the vowed praying with it or a separate function was not made clear to us.

A vow to make a sweat-lodge for the Feathered Pipe, similar *mutatis mutandis* to the corresponding Flat Pipe one, was carried out in fulfillment of a request made to a man in a dream, or of a vow made, for example, by a young man going off on a war party to ask good luck and a safe return,—the young man in the case providing the requisite offerings.

Our very incomplete information on the Feathered Pipe rite carried out in fulfillment of a vow to be painted comes from Al Chandler, Garter Snake and Charles Buckman.

According to Al Chandler, if some one were ill a near relative 782
would vow to be painted and would go to the keeper. The sweat- 302
lodge rite was first gone through. After this, in the keeper's lodge, the keeper would take the paint from the Pipe bundle, make a smudge as usual, sing the songs, dip his finger in the paint, and hold it up while addressing the Supreme Being and add: "This man vowed to you that he wanted to be painted with your paint so that his child might live," or similar words. Then he repeated the same thing to the Pipe. Then he painted first the vower, and afterwards he painted the men and male children present and the co-keeper, the women and female children,—the males with a curved band on the forehead near the hair line, the females with dots, one on the forehead and one on each cheek. This painting could take place any time in the year.

According to Garter Snake, in case of dangerous or critical 782
illness, the vower would promise to cook up lots of food and have 755
the keeper open up the Pipe bundle and paint the vower. If the vower were a man he was painted with the sacred red paint by the keeper; if a woman, by the co-keeper. The Pipe child would sit with the co-keeper during the rite. All the men, women and children who could attend would come to the keeper's lodge and be painted. Any ex-keepers and ex-co-keepers present would not be painted by the keeper and co-keeper as they would paint themselves.

According to Charles Buckman, it was customary to unwrap the Pipe bundle at this vowed painting rite.

Apart from this vowed rite, ritual face painting was also, as 302
previously noted, a common feature of the Feathered Pipe danc- 751
ing ceremony. In addition, according to Jim Shortman, if the 782
Feathered Pipe keeper were told in a dream by the owl that sickness was coming to the camp, he would call all the children and infants together with the grown-ups to his lodge and would paint every individual.

Offerings to cover the Feathered Pipe could be made by anyone, 782
at any time of the year, winter included, more frequently with, but often without, previous vow. They were commonly made for cure in cases of illness. The original first owner of the Pipe had told the people: "If you are sick, you can make a vow to cover the Pipe, and thus get well." But covering occurred also on other

782 occasions. Whenever, for instance, Garter Snake went to a Feathered Pipe ceremony, she would bring some offering for the Pipe; and if the keeper, as previously noted, dreamed of ill luck about to befall somebody in camp, he would counsel the person to make some offering.

In the olden days dressed skins of deer, antelope or other animal were the most common offerings; in more recent times, flannel or other textiles,[19] preferably black, the Pipe's favorite color. The Feathered and Flat Pipes appear to have received about equal numbers of offerings. Some devotees, such as Singer and Mary Ereaux' mother, would as a rule make it a point to cover both Pipes whenever they made Pipe offerings, with three yards of cloth for each. Mary Ereaux' mother felt that both Pipes were "the same" and she did not want to be "partial."

When the giver laid the offering on the Pipe bundle, he or she would talk first to the Supreme Being, then to the Pipe, and afterwards *ad libitum* to the two-headed bird or any other sacred object or objects in the bundle.

When the offerings accumulated, the keeper would have a sweatlodge made and they would be hung up on the pole in front of the lodge. After the sweating was over, the offerings would be disposed of in the usual way, by deposition on a high hill with prayers by the selected depositor. Sitting High, at least, used sometimes to distribute them, or some of them, after the sweating rite, to poor and needy children.

* 796 Most of the rites we have been describing were carried out in fulfillment of vows. Two other series of rites and observances, non-vowed ordinarily, may now be dealt with: The one series, distinctly religious rites, performed as occasion demanded or suggested, which we are calling rites of occasion; the other series, in which the religious element was in most cases only marginal, which we are calling observances. The rites of occasion may be classified into rain, flood, storm, and doctoring ceremonies. In passing we may mention that the Feathered Pipe, unlike the Flat Pipe, did not enter in any manner into the sacred Sacrifice Dance.

The more solemn Feathered Pipe rite usually held in the spring was, primarily though not exclusively, a prayer for rain and for protection against storms. Many other simpler rites were, however, carried out for the same purposes. 796*

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[19] See Plate 2 B. Note cloth offerings behind Feathered Pipe tripod. [R.F.]

Rain could be caused by sprinkling the Feathered Pipe keeper with water or by throwing water on him, and if the keeper, contrary to rule, bathed in a stream rain would follow. The keeper could also cause rain by prayer (details not known to our informant, The Boy) and then taking water in his mouth and, facing to the northwest (from which storms usually come) or against the wind, blowing the water out of his mouth in a spray. The keeper could also, according to Al Chandler, bring rain by spurting water out of his mouth or by sprinkling water from a cup, in each case in the four cardinal directions. 789

The keeper might have power, too, to cause rain by going to a creek, with prayers on the way, and wading in it with his moccasins on. But not all keepers had this power. On one occasion while Curly Head was keeper, a big prairie fire was spreading close to his place and Al Chandler, Al's father-in-law, and Curly Head were fighting the fire. Al's father-in-law saw Curly Head wade in the water and said to Al: "I guess he is trying to make rain. I see him walking in the water with moccasins on." But the old man "thought Curly Head did not have the power and sure enough he could not make it rain."

There were ways of stopping as well as causing rain. Al Chandler gave the following account. "The Feathered Pipe was used mainly to get rain. But it was also used to stop rain when there was danger that it would ruin crops or otherwise harm the people, and they would ask the keeper to stop it. He would not do this alone but would get some of the old men who understood about the Pipe to help him. They all sang and smudged themselves, but did not unwrap the Pipe or do anything else but sing and pray. The ceremony lasted quite long. I remember once, when Logan was agent, we were going down to a Fourth of July celebration and were camped over at Three Mile Coulee. While on our way to the coulee it started to rain and by the time we reached it, it was raining very, very hard. The horses were shaking with cold, lightning was flashing and thunder was sounding. Somebody asked Sitting High, then keeper, to do something, else their fun would

789 be spoiled. Sitting High told him to summon the other old men. I could not stay in the tent with them although I was living with Sitting High at the time. Sitting High and his wife were there; so were the other old men, but not their wives. They started singing about three or four o'clock in the afternoon and kept it up all night. I woke up very early next morning and could hear them still singing. They were then just about breaking up. They had to see the ceremony through. They would sing four songs and smudge and smoke and talk. Then they would sing four more and rest between each four until they had sung 44 songs. Sure enough it cleared up the next day."

[361] A rite for stopping floods was described as follows by Jim Shortman: "One whole winter the Gros Ventres camped on the Musselshell River until spring. When the ice would go out the water would flood the valley from hill to hill, and all the camps, set up in the timber along the river for shelter, would move. My father, then Feathered Pipe keeper, did not move, and his wife said to him: "We will be flooded. What will you do?" "We will stay here," he said. "It is too much trouble to move." She told him: "We will be drowned." But he said: "No." That night he took down one of his little bags, which contained a hand-made wooden bowl. He took out the bowl, made a smudge, smudged the bowl and sang and talked to him, and after that went outside the lodge. I followed him out to see what he would do. He walked right out to the river which was rising and stopped about 8 or 10 feet from the water. He held the bowl up towards heaven, sang and talked [prayed, evidently], then lowered it first in the three stages, and at the fourth set it on the ground face down. Then he went back to his lodge. And, don't you know, the water was all around everywhere else, but did not come any closer to the spot where he put the bowl. Gosh, I was scared. I thought we would all drown. But when I got up the next morning the water was all around us, but we were all right."

Various ritual procedures were used by the Feathered Pipe keeper to avert or to stop thunderstorms. He would go out and stand, facing the oncoming storm. He would then stretch out his arms straight from the shoulder with his palms together. Then he would move his arms outward at the same time turning his palms outward (about as in the breast stroke for swimming), and while doing so would say: "We don't need you now. Go this way. Go this way." And the thunderclouds would spread and separate, and miss the camp. 789

Once when Thick's brother, Horse Capture, had vowed a Crazy Dance and it was about to start, a big electric storm threatened. So Horse Capture filled a pipe and went to Bull Lodge and said: "Here, old man, is a pipe." "What is it for?" asked Bull Lodge. "I want you to break up this storm," Horse Capture replied. "We don't want a storm when we start on our doings." "Well," said Bull Lodge, as he took the pipe, "That is easy." The storm was then coming pretty close. Bull Lodge did nothing but smoke the pipe, and when through smoking handed it back to Horse Capture, saying: "There is not going to be a drop of rain and you are not going to have any rain for four days." And just at this instant, the thundercloud split in two and went around, by-passing the camp. Whether Bull Lodge averted this storm by reason of his keeper or ex-keeper powers or of special personal ones is not however clear from our informant on the incident, Thick.

Charles Buckman gave us another illustration of Bull Lodge's power over storms, a power associated with the keepership. The story was told Buckman by his present wife's father, old Spotted Bird. There was a very severe and prolonged rain storm, it was cold, and the horses were dying. The Gros Ventres were camped with the Crow. The Crow offered Bull Lodge a pipe to stop the storm and he agreed: "All right, I will see what I can do." So he got his Feathered Pipe drum, fixed a smudge, and started to sing a certain song, saying: "After I sing the third song, go and see how the weather looks." So they began singing and by the time he sang the fourth song, the storm was over and the sun was shining. 648

When a big thunderstorm came, or too much rain, the people would appeal to the keeper to stop it. He would make a smudge and talk to the Pipe and, without mentioning the Last Child or the sun, ask that the storm or rain cease, and it would stop. The smudging consisted of or included taking a pinch of sweet pine, motioning with it, dropping all but a little of it in the fire, and putting this remaining bit on the top of his head. The weather

789 song had also to be sung, apparently to the accompaniment of the drum.

755 Putting sweet pine needles on the sick person's head, blowing wild parsley on him, and smudging him as doctoring practices have been previously described. According to Singer, if some one were so sick that his life was despaired of, the keeper would take the Feathered Pipe [the bundle, probably] and lay it on him and pray over him, and the sick person would recover, and, she added, "it cured a lot of them." Doctoring power was regularly acquired by reason of acquiring the keepership.

793 302 The keeper and co-keeper painted their own faces every morning after breakfast, like the men, in two bands, but broader ones three or four fingers wide, one on the forehead near the hair line and the other from one jaw across the chin to the other jaw.

778 The Pipe bundle was smudged by the keeper every morning and evening with sweet pine needles. During Curly Head's keepership Cora Chandler and her children were kept busy collecting dried cow dung for the daily smudging ceremony. The keeper made it a practice to "talk" or pray often to the Pipe in his lodge. According to The Boy, the keeper was fearful lest otherwise he might make ritual mistakes, at which the Pipe would be angry. According to Al Chandler, the Pipe being jealous, the keeper "had to talk to it to let it know it was not forgotten or put away; he treated it just like a person."

788 778 Customary observances on the occasions of feasts or ordinary meals to guests in the keeper's lodge have been previously described.

When the keeper and the people were camped for any length of time in a given place, the Feathered Pipe bundle was ordinarily taken in the morning from its place of honor opposite the entrance inside the keeper's lodge, hung up outside over the entrance, and brought back inside at eventide.

[361 624] 778 484 When the camp was to be moved, the Feathered Pipe keeper, like the Flat Pipe keeper, had, it seems, a consultative voice in the decision and perhaps even veto power at times, although ordinarily the final decision was made by the head men. The decision once made, early in the morning when camp was to be broken, the Feathered Pipe bundle was hung out on its tripod back of the

keeper's lodge, with two tripod legs close together and the third 484
pointing in the direction of march, as a signal to the people. 778

On the march, the Pipe bundle was ordinarily packed on Pipe's own horse. Two stuffed parfleches were placed, one on either side of the saddle; blanket robes were thrown over them and the saddle; the bundle, with its covers, was then put thereon and securely lashed down with specially tied rawhide thongs.

On breaking camp, the two Pipe keepers with their Pipes might 621
decide to stay together, or else to separate. "Most of the people
[usually] hung around the Pipes." If the Pipe keepers decided to 484
separate, some of the bands or other groups or families might 778
choose to go with one Pipe, others with the other, others still with neither. "Both Pipes had certain bunches who followed them, and when the Pipes split certain ones went with each. Each band suited itself and followed the Pipe it liked best." This, for example, is what happened on the occasion when the Assiniboine captured the Flat Pipe.

If both Pipes stayed together, then according to The Boy, Turn Toes, and Takes the Bow, the Flat Pipe took the lead, the Feathered Pipe coming second in line. Garter Snake could not recall the order of precedence. We did not obtain further clarification of Al Chandler's statement: "The two keepers moved out first side by side and if the tribe was going to split, it was up to the people which Pipe they would follow." The statement may refer to those occasions when the Pipes were going to separate. On such occasions, all informants were fully agreed that the Flat Pipe and Feathered Pipe each came first in the line of march of its respective followers. The order on the march, for the Feathered as for the Flat Pipe was: the keeper in the lead, next to him the co-keeper leading the Pipe horse behind her, then the Pipe child alongside or just behind the horse. In this connection the original first co-keeper of the Feathered Pipe was called, in Garter Snake's version of the origin story, "Woman-takes-the-lead."

OTHER SACRED PIPES

In recent years the Gros Ventres have had only the Flat and 778
Feathered Pipes, but earlier there were others. The Boy listed

778 five others known to him. In Turn Toes' early days—he was about 80 years old in 1940—there were two others besides the Flat and Feathered Pipes, and before his time there were still others. A pipe of which his father had been keeper was buried with his father.

778 *796 Only scattered details, to be given presently, on the origin and ritual of these minor pipes were obtainable. In general the rites and observances followed, to some degree, the broad pattern of those of the two major ones. Each pipe had its own songs. Sweet pine was used, as in the Feathered Pipe ceremonies, for making smudge. The pipes had to be kept "quiet and clean," each in its own bundle in the owner's lodge. An important difference was that ordinarily the pipe was buried with its keeper unless he had during his lifetime transferred it to someone else.

Of the five pipes, other than the Flat and Feathered Pipes known to The Boy, three,—the Beaver Pipe, the one gotten from Bird Tail Butte, and the one given to the Piegan,—were classed by him as "great pipes," although not nearly so great as the Flat and Feathered Pipes; two—the ones gotten from the Gros Ventres of the lower Missouri and from the Crow respectively,—were classed as not so important. We shall first give what information we obtained on these five pipes, and later take up some of the other pipes mentioned to us.[11]

Whether "Beaver Pipe" was a specific name for just one particular historic pipe or a general name for several or all these minor pipes is not clear from our field data.[12]

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[11] Kroeber, 1908, p. 272, mentions that this multiplicity of pipes distinctly differentiates the character of the Gros Ventre pipes from that of the Arapaho.

[12] In 1948 The Boy stated: "The Beaver bundle religion started with the Gros Ventres and was transferred to the Piegan. The difference from the Flat and Feathered Pipes is that when the Beaver Pipe is transferred they give a copy, so that the Beaver Pipe rapidly multiplied while the Flat and Feathered Pipe remained one. The last Gros Ventre to have a Beaver Pipe proper was Weasel Bear,—his two sons, Stiffarm and Mouse, were called Beaver children. The beaver is a showy animal and the Beaver rites as carried out by the Piegan, among whom they were important, were showy

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The origin of it (or them) was attributed, somewhat tentatively and speculatively, by The Boy to pique on the part of the beaver for being left out of the Flat Pipe bundle or for other reason and hence the desire to start his own pipe and pipe rite.

The traditional origin story of the first Beaver Pipe was given as follows by Coming Daylight. "A certain man had two wives. He went out hunting and took one of his wives along. The other stayed at camp and about noon as she went to fetch water from the creek, she saw there a young man. 'I am going to marry you,' he told her. 'Where you are is not a good place, with two women to one man.' 'Let me first take this water home,' said she. 'Oh,' he said, 'don't take it all the way home, but only half way.' This she did and then followed him to his house. When he took her into his house, he turned into a beaver and told her to go into his beaver lodge.

"When the husband returned home from his hunt, he saw the filled water bucket half way to the creek, but the woman was missing. 'Somebody must have taken her,' he thought. He looked all over for her and called her, but in vain. So he went back home and told her father and mother the story that she was gone. They searched for her in different tribes but could not find her. They even checked on all the young men to see if any of them were away from home, but all were accounted for.

"After her husband and parents had searched a long time and had not found her, they began to mourn for her. The husband was crying all around on the hills. At last a spirit told him: 'Quit crying. She is not dead. Go back and camp at the same spot where she disappeared.' So he came in from the hills and invited some old men and told them what the spirit said. The old men advised him: 'Go back to the spot. This spirit may be telling the truth.'

"So he and his other wife went back to that same spot and camped. In the evening while supper was cooking they heard a

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and kind of boisterous compared to the Flat and Feathered Pipe rites of the Gros Ventres, and this appeals to many people."

In 1948 Al Chandler mentioned that Old Man Blackbird was keeper of a Beaver Pipe which had been given him by the Crow. "It was a small bundle, but they used to hang it just like the Flat and Feathered Pipes were hung, and they had a smudge and some kind of dance to go with it." [R.F.]

noise coming into the lodge. The lost woman was looking in the door. Her husband seeing her jumped. 'Go back,' she said, 'and sit down. Don't come near me. Don't eat supper. Clean up and get sage brush and fix it nicely all around the lodge and close up all the holes. I am coming back. I just came first to tell you to clean up and fix the lodge.' So the two did as they were told and sat waiting, he at the back of the lodge and she on the east side, for the lost wife to come back.

"After a while they heard in the distance drumming and singing which kept coming closer. Then they saw the beaver husband's father coming first with the Pipe, after him the beaver husband and the woman, and last four [beaver?] beating the drum. All entered the lodge. The father then gave the Pipe to the man who had lost the one of his wives, saying: 'Here is a Pipe. Smoke it.' So the man took it and smoked it. The beaver husband's father also took this man as a son.

"The father then told two of the drummers: 'Invite the people to come into the lodge.' This they did and soon the lodge was filled with all the different animals, frog and snake and others, that live in the water. The old father then said: 'I invite you to give my son a song.'

"The frog then began to sing and as he began, a storm came with hail and the creek ran full. Next came the snake's turn, but the snake said: 'I don't know how to sing.' And the snake crawled out of the lodge, so he does not belong to this Pipe.

"The man was taught how to sing and to make smudge with sweet grass [sweet pine?], and was given back his lost wife with the admonition not to beat her and was told to go back home with her. Then the old father and the beaver husband went away, leaving the lost wife with her human husband.

"When the man got back home with his two wives and with the Pipe he had been given, everybody came to visit him. The re-found woman's brothers gave her husband two horses. They called that Pipe, Beaver Pipe, and when the man died they buried it with him. And this is why they buried owners of such pipes unless the owners when still living had transferred the pipes to someone else. This is the story we have heard from way back."

Other pipes, some at least of them "Beaver" Pipes apparently, were specifically mentioned by our informants. There may be some duplications in the following listing. 778

The pipe owned by Roasted-in-the-coals, or Roasted-under-the-fire was called asti:θibie:tsa (meaning not obtainable). It was buried with him. It had two big rattles with it about 6 to 8 inches [534] in diameter. After he died, these rattles were brought to Crow Bull, Coming Daylight's maternal uncle. He kept them quite a while, but, perhaps because they did not belong to the Flat Pipe which he owned or because he had had a dream about them, he decided to put them away, and had his wife Iron Woman and his niece Coming Daylight dispose of them. They were camping on the Missouri River at the time. The two women dug a kind of tunnel in the bank just big enough to hold them. Coming Daylight pitied these rattles because they were not even wrapped. So she took her robe and wrapped them in it and prayed to them: "Have pity on us. I pity you because you are not even wrapped up. I take my robe to wrap you. You are poor like orphans." And so the two women put them away.

Coming Daylight's father also was keeper of a pipe, but only for a short time as he was killed in war, not long after getting it. When her father first received this pipe, he was not grabbed without warning, as new keepers of the Flat and Feathered Pipes were. The wives of her uncle, Crow Bull, made a big lodge for her father and put this pipe on a tripod in front of it. Then Crow Bull went to his sister, Coming Daylight's mother, and said: "Go in your lodge. This lodge is yours." So her father and his two wives moved in. Her mother had children at the time and so was not co-keeper, and when the babies cried she would take them out of the lodge. Instead her father's other wife, who never had any children to Coming Daylight's knowledge, was co-keeper. The pipe's place in the big lodge was opposite the door. When [602] Coming Daylight's father died, her mother's brother, Crow Bull, took over the pipe. This pipe, with most of the wrappings removed to lessen the weight, and wrapped in a small bundle with rawhide, lashed around near either end and with a thong handle, was taken by Crow Bull to the war called by the Gros Ventres "When

778 they wiped us out." After this war in which so many of the Gros Ventres were killed, the survivors moved off leaving this pipe, and Cut-Away's pipe (see below), and "the remains of a third one" (Small Drum's apparently, see below), in a lodge all nicely fixed up.

In Coming Daylight's father's big lodge were two other pipes, one owned by Stabber's father, Small Drums, the other by Cut-Away, or All-Cut-Off. The place of Small Drums' pipe was to the west of her father's pipe, that of Cut Away's to the east. No further details on these two pipes were obtainable, apart from their final disposition mentioned above.

The last Gros Ventre Beaver Pipe of which we obtained record was buried with its last keeper, Weasel Bear, the father of Stiffarm.

778 648 On the two other "great" pipes previously mentioned as known to The Boy, only the most meager information was obtainable. One of these two was gotten by a Gros Ventre man from Bird Tail Butte in the Bear Paw Mountains. The other, of unknown origin, was in the possession of the Gros Ventres long ago when Lame Bull was a boy and was given, he told The Boy, to the Piegan. The Boy one Fourth of July saw the Piegan "having doings with this pipe."

On the two pipes rated by The Boy as of "less importance," our data are likewise meager. One of these, "a common pipe," was a gift from the Crow. At one time at least it was in the possession of Black Bird. It was procured a few years ago, from one of the sons of the last keeper, by Richard Pohrt, hailing from Flint, Michigan.

The other of the two was a gift from the Hidatsa (called "Lower Gross Ventres" by the present-day Gros Ventres of Montana) or the Mandan. It was called watä:nuta (some kind of black bird) and is generally spoken of as "the pipe of Big Beaver" who was its last [and only?] keeper and with whom it was buried. According to Takes the Bow, the Gros Ventres, not so long ago, had gone east beyond their own territory and encountered these "Lower Gros Ventres." The two parties stopped some distance apart and by use of the sign language discovered who each were. The "Lower Gros Ventres" were glad to meet the Gros Ventres, for the two tribes had never been at war. In token of this, the "Lower Gros Ventres" gave the Gros Ventres a pipe to bind the two tribes together, the principal men of each tribe having met together in the middle ground between the parties. In late years some "Lower Gros Ventres" came on a visit to the Fort Belknap agency to inquire about the pipe and to take it back. But the pipe could not be found in the grave of Big Beaver with whom it had been buried. 778 648

According to Singer, her father, Bird Chief, had a pipe given by the Sioux or Assiniboine. On a war expedition against the Piegan on which he had taken it, when the Piegan were pressing the Gros Ventres badly, he gave the pipe to his youngest brother who was captured with it, but let go. The pipe however was kept by the Piegan. This happened when Singer was a very small girl.

RELATIVE DIGNITY AND POPULARITY OF THE SACRED PIPES

All our informants were fully agreed that the Flat and Feathered Pipes far outranked in sacredness, dignity, power and popularity any and all of the other Gros Ventre sacred pipes. 778 771

There were, however, some differences of view among our informants as to the relative status of the Flat and Feathered Pipes themselves. These differences of view, traceable in part to informants' respective affiliations and preferences, were comparatively minor, and are largely reconcilable if we distinguish between what we may call "popular devotion" on the one hand and "liturgico-dogmatic" order of dignity on the other,—a distinction commonly discernible in religious life of other peoples of the world.

As regards "popular devotion," the two Pipes appear to have received about the same number of offerings, vowed and unvowed, from the people, and some Gros Ventres made it a practice rarely or never to cover or robe one of the two Pipes without at the same time covering the other. Some Gros Ventres, while holding both Pipes as superlatively sacred, thought the Feathered Pipe to be in certain respects more powerful, since it, unlike the Flat Pipe, had never been captured by the enemy and since, they held, those bands or groups who, when the tribe separated, followed the Flat

778 Pipe met with more accidents and misfortune than those who
771 followed the Feathered Pipe.[18]

As regards "liturgico-dogmatic" order of dignity, the Flat Pipe appears to have had premier rank. It was the older of the two Pipes, having been given at the very time of "creation." On the march, most informants agreed that the Flat Pipe took the lead. The Flat Pipe alone had solemn seasonal rites proper, and these to obtain from the Supreme Being all things necessary for living long and happily, whereas the Feathered Pipe rites were mostly more particularistic in purpose, namely, to ask for rain and for protection against thunderstorms. Finally the Flat Pipe alone was brought to the sacred Sacrifice Dance ceremony to lend added solemnity thereto.

Regardless however of such differences in popularity and dignity and of certain differences of view among our informants, both Pipes were most deeply venerated by all the people, as gifts given in the last analysis by the Supreme Being himself, for the protection and well-being of all the Gros Ventres forever.

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[18] In 1948 The Boy while discussing the relative merits of the two, told a long story of a dream given to his paternal grandfather, Crow Moccasin, keeper of the Feathered Pipe, through which he was able to save the people of his band from an attack by the enemy, although the rest of the Gros Ventres suffered great disaster. Impressed with the fact that the Feathered Pipe avoided capture, nevertheless The Boy still feels that the Flat Pipe is the greater, one argument being: "When the Flat Pipe was captured it found its way back to the Gros Ventres under its own power." For details of story on Loss and Recovery of the Flat Pipe, see No. 8 in Appendix. [R.F.]

CHAPTER V

THE SACRED DANCES

General Features

In the Gros Ventre public cult, as contrasted with more or less 796* private cult concepts and observances, next after the sacred Pipe 771 ceremonies, in order of rank and importance in the native view, were the Sacred Dances or Lodges,—the terms are used interchangeably, 794 and while etymologically "Lodge" is correct, our informants preferred usually "Dance."

There were eight of these Sacred Dances: the Sacrifice Dance (commonly but incorrectly called the Sun Dance), the "Law Enforcers" or Old Man's Dance, the Drum Dance, the Kit-Fox Dance, the Dog Dance, the Crazy Dance, the Fly Dance, and the Old Women's Dance.[1] Of these eight, the Sacrifice Dance was more generally regarded as the "greatest," ranking first in order of importance and dignity, but somewhat outside of the others which have been mentioned in descending order. All eight were regarded as sacred rites, not merely social or good-time occasions, although such elements entered into them or were associated with them.

Ordinarily a person participated in or vowed during his life 796* first the Fly Dance; only after this the Crazy, Kit-fox, Dog, Drum and Sacrifice Dances, and finally the Old Man's Dance.

Our chief informants on the Sacred Dances were The Boy, [115] Turn Toes, Thick, Charles Buckman, Coming Daylight, and Singer. Lame Bull, from whom The Boy got most of his information on the Dances, had gone through all of them except the Drum Dance. He had even been selected as one of the two outstanding

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[1] Kroeber, 1908, pp. 227-268, gives an excellent account of these Dances, gotten at a time, nearly half a century ago, when tribal memory was fresher Our data may help to fill out some of the picture.

*796 men who had roles to play in the Old Women's Dance. Turn Toes (b. ca. 1860) had taken part in the Sacrifice Dance (about four times) and in the Crazy, Dog, Fly, and Old Men's Dances, having joined the Crazy Dance first and participated in the Fly Dance when he was already an old man. The Boy had witnessed the Sacrifice, Fly, Crazy, Old Men's and Old Women's Dances, and his contemporaries, Thick and Charles Buckman, knew something of them too. The others had disappeared before their time. Coming Daylight and Singer (b. ca. 1854) witnessed some of the Dances. Coming Daylight as a small girl participated as one of the "calves" in the Old Woman's Dance. Our other informants were able to supplement accounts as given by these from what they had heard from their relatives and others of the older generations.

Today the Sacred Dances survive only in memory. Dates when the respective Dances were last held are: Drum Dance, when Lame Bull (b. 1824 or 1825) was a boy, hence probably in the 1830's; Kit-fox, ca. 1870, when Turn Toes was a small boy; Dog Dance, after the last Kit-fox, apparently in the late 1870's because Turn Toes had gone through it; Turn Toes did the Old Men's Dance, at which time he was only about 20 years old, therefore about 1880, at the junction of Beaver Creek and Bear Gulch on the east side of the Little Rockies; Sacrifice Dance, 1884; Crazy Dance, twice after the establishment of the Fort Belknap Agency, —the last time right after the Sacrifice Dance of 1884; Fly Dance, about 1907 (the one in which Turn Toes as an old man participated). Since that date none of the Sacred Dances has been held.

The Sacred Dances were held, not as part of a seasonal cycle, but only (with one exception to be noted later) in fulfillment of a vow by some individual. The vow itself, even in the case of the Fly Dance, was made to the Supreme Being, not to any other being. Which of the dances an individual chose to vow would depend on circumstances. If, for instance, he were in sore straits, surrounded by the enemy and in imminent danger of being killed, he would vow the Sacrifice Dance which cost greatly in suffering and goods, or else the Crazy, Dog, Kit-fox, or Drum Dance. Usually, however, a boy was supposed to go first through the Fly Dance, and only the aged could go through the Old Man's

Dance.[2] Women could vow the Old Women's Dance, but no other 796*
Dance could be vowed by women of any age.

The vower would call upon his company or age-society to help 575
him fulfill his vow. As elsewhere explained, when the young boy 701
was about 15 to 17 years old he together with others of his age 796*
joined in a body one or other of the two Soldier Societies, the
Stars of the Wolves. Each such newly joining group of youths
would be incorporated in the larger society of Stars or Wolves,
but would keep its own identity through life as a subdivision of
the Stars or Wolves, would have its own name (such as Potbellies,
Calves, Holding-On-to-Dogs-Tail), and would hang together in
common loyalty, protection and helpfulness.[3]

The vower's company, not all the Stars of Wolves, would help
him make provision for the Dance, would be in charge of the affair
and, during it and only during it, could exercise certain definite
authority over other members of the tribe. If the tribe were on
the march toward the spot where the dance was about to be held,
that company came immediately after the Flat-Pipe, according to
The Boy, and during the Dance the band chiefs and Pipe keepers
stepped aside and yielded to the company the authority to run [624]
the camp, compel attendance, give orders, and punish disobedience.
If during a Sacred Lodge an individual hunted buffalo out of
turn, before the communal hunt began, his lodge would be de-
stroyed, his clothes cut up, and so forth. A like punishment might [689]
be meted out to any who might refuse to come into camp, at the
time the dance was held.[4]

The two Soldier Societies, the Stars and Wolves, and their respective constituent companies were permanent organizations. The specific individuals who vowed or joined in any given Dance

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[2] In 1948, The Boy indicated that probably the Crazy, Dog, Kit-fox and Drum Dances would have been vowed in order, that is, that a man would vow a Dog Dance only if he had been previously a Crazy Dancer, and so on. He was none too sure on this point. He was quite emphatic, however, that any man who belonged to either the Stars or Wolf Men could vow the Sacrifice Dance. [R.F.]

[3] For a description of the whole ceremonial organization, so far as it can be reconstructed, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 36-43.

[4] See Flannery, 1953, pp. 43-44.

575 701 *796 did not constitute such. Their grouping was a purely temporary one, lasting only for the duration of the Dance. During, for instance, the Crazy Dance, all who joined in it, both members of the vower's company and others, were called Crazy Dancers, but once the Dance was over, they ceased to be such; there was no permanent organization or society of Crazy Dancers.

608 *796 A first step which a man who had vowed a Sacred Dance had to take was to fill an ordinary pipe, go to a man who had gone through the rite in fulfillment of a vow and who knew the rite well, and offer him the pipe, saying: "Here is the pipe. You will be my 'grandfather.'" By accepting the pipe,—and he could hardly refuse,—the latter became the vower's ritual "grandfather." At the same time the "grandfather's" wife became the vower's "grandmother," and both the vower and his wife (or wives) became "grandchildren" of the "grandfather" and his wife, and they addressed one another respectively by these names. The vower himself was in charge of the Dance and of the preparations therefor. The "grandfather's" role was that of liturgist, to instruct the vower in the ceremonies and observances proper to the given Lodge, and to see that they were carried out correctly. By way of exception, for the Old Women's Dance there were "grandmothers," but no "grandfathers."

When a given individual vowed one of the Sacred Lodges, other individuals could join with him in the rite, and each of these others would also choose a "grandfather,"—one who had participated in the given Dance,—with whom he (and his wife) would contract the same sacred relationship and who would perform the same offices. No person could be "grandfather" to more than one vower or associate on the occasion of any one dance.[a] The "grandfathers" would usually be older than the participants but not by any means necessarily very old men.

If, however, a younger man offered a pipe to a very feeble old man whose memory of the rites was poor, the old man might accept the pipe and so become the younger man's "grandfather."

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[a] In 1948, The Boy indicated that for the Crazy Dance at least two younger men might together approach an older man and have him act as their ritual grandfather if he accepted them. [R.F.]

The old man, however, might and commonly would appeal to another old man, who knew the Dance rites well even though he might never have vowed the dance, to double for him in seeing that the rite was properly carried out. 608 796 *

A keeper of one of the sacred Pipes, or at least of the Flat or Feathered Pipe, could not, during his term of office, function as "grandfather" at a sacred Lodge, but an ex-keeper could.

The relationship between ceremonial grandfather or grandmother and grandchild was a sacred one. Between such grandparent and grandchild a certain respect behavior had to be observed, and either was obligated not to refuse a request of the other. 608

Gambling, for instance, between them, or apparently even playing on opposite sides in a non-gambling hand game, was improper. Between blood grandparents and grandchildren a distinct joking relationship obtained,* not however between ritual grandparents and grandchildren, although our field evidence is not entirely consistent. According to one good informant, between these latter, telling vulgar jokes and stories, teasing about lovers, and so forth, were taboo; according to another, a little freedom in such matters was allowed, but not as much as was allowed and practiced between blood grandparents and grandchildren. [525] [603]

As regards, however, the much more significant mutual obligation of ceremonial grandparents not to refuse requests of grandchildren, our field data are entirely consistent and clear. This mutual obligation was rigidly lived up to and played a very important role in Gros Ventre social life. This role may best be illustrated by the following actual case.

Once Iron Woman, Crow Bull's wife, ran away with Kitfox. When people noticed she was gone, they said: "Oh, she must have run away again with somebody." Before she ran away this time, Crow Bull had said: "If she runs away again, there will be trouble." So people went to Black Raven, Kitfox's father, to tell him that his son was suspected and that there would probably be trouble. When Iron Woman and Kitfox came back, Crow Bull seized his loaded gun and dashed out as if he were going to kill

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* See Flannery, 1953, pp. 121-22.

608 them. Crow Bull's ceremonial grandson, whom he had instructed during the Crazy Dance and who was a relative of Black Raven, heard about this and ran in front of Crow Bull, saying: "Grandfather, don't do anything," and grabbed him just when he was about to fire. So Crow Bull said: "All right, because my grandchild stopped me." Then the relatives of Black Raven collected horses and blankets and other valuables, the young man himself contributing a blanket, and they all marched to Crow Bull's lodge carrying the goods and leading the horses. On arrival at the lodge, the guilty lover went in first with the fine blanket he was giving and did a great thing. He covered White Skunk, Crow Bull's "dearly-loved child"[7] with this blanket. So Crow Bull could hardly do or say anything. He just said, "Well, I will leave it up to my son White Skunk, whatever he says, I will do." White Skunk then said: "Just give her (Iron Woman) to that man (Kitfox). Just let her go," and that is what Crow Bull did. He got all these horses and blankets and other things in payment.[8] Thus even though Crow Bull was so angry, his "grandchild" could stop him.

[566] If a woman left her husband, and her "grandfather" went to her and told her to go back to her husband for she had nothing to get mad about, she would have to do so no matter how much she dreaded it.

608 682 If one Gros Ventre had murdered another, and the relatives of the murdered person were afraid to approach the victim's father to offer indemnity, they could offer a pipe to any one of the father's ceremonial grandfathers. If the grandfather accepted it, he prayed with it and smoked it. When the murderer's relatives were ready with horses and clothing for payment, the grandfather would lead the relatives to his grandson, the murdered person's father, and say to him: "I have brought these people who ask your forgiveness. They are bringing these horses and blankets to you. I am asking you as my 'grandchild' to accept." The father could not refuse, for if he refused, some evil would overtake him. Actually refusals to such requests by a "grandfather" did not occur, to our informants' knowledge.

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[7] For details on the dearly-loved child, see Flannery, 1941, pp. 33-37.

[8] For a discussion of indemnity in case of adultery see Flannery, 1953, pp. 185-88; for indemnity in case of murder, idem, p. 45.

Two general aspects of this socio-ceremonial relationship were 608 discussed in detail with The Boy: the obligation not to refuse requests, and the possibility of abuses arising under the system which for the rest had obvious social values in solving conflicts and preventing bloodshed.

What lay back of the sense of obligation to grant requests? The offered pipe was the central symbol, whether offered once for all at the time the ceremonial relationship was first contracted or offered on a specific occasion to a "grandfather" or "grandson" not the offerer's own. The ordinary pipe as offered in either case was looked upon as a sacred thing, as symbolic or representative of the sacrosanct Flat Pipe and/or Feathered Pipe which had been given by the Supreme Being as the most powerful media to pray with, as the most assured means of getting a hearing from the Supreme Being. The offered common pipe was a sort of substitute in the case for the sacred Pipes themselves. The "grandfather" or prospective "grandfather" on accepting the offered pipe, would always pray reverently with it to the Supreme Being before smoking it. If he once accepted the office of "grandfather" to another, he realized that he was assuming all the responsibilities that went with it, among them that of never refusing a request made by his "grandson" without a pipe, or by another with a pipe to intercede with his grandson. It was a sort of implicit sacred pledge into which the Supreme Being himself entered, at least indirectly. He knew that if he ever refused such a request, harm would come to him in some form: he would have to pay the price of his refusal, to suffer the consequences. Whether such consequences would follow automatically or by action of the Supreme Being or other beings is not clear from our field data, but in any case they were in some sense "supernaturally" caused. If people heard that a "grandfather" had refused a request made to him by his "grandson," 626 they would say: "He (the 'grandfather') has sealed his fate." They would immediately lose their good opinion of him,—a social sanction added to the supernatural one,—and would look for some misfortune to befall him sooner or later. If soon after the refusal, evil did befall him, death or other grave mishap, they would say: "That's because he refused his grandson."

608 The problem of possible abuses of the system was explained by The Boy along the following lines. "First of all if an old man had become my 'grandfather' only recently, say just last week and I were a young man, no one would ordinarily ask me to appeal for him to my 'grandfather.' By strict right I could do so, and if no one else were available, I might be asked, but as an 'amateur,' as one lacking in experience, I would not be a good person to ask. An older, more experienced 'grandson' would be asked."

*796 Besides choosing a "grandfather" the vower also selected, as a
herald or crier for the Dance, some intelligent old man gifted as an
203 orator. The crier's chief task was to walk or ride around the camp
before and during the Dance announcing to the people whether the
group would move and other decisions and agreements covering
preparations for and procedure during the dance.

If the bands happened to be scattered at the time a sacred Dance was to be held, runners were sent by the vower to bid them foregather for the Dance. All members of the tribe were obliged to attend the Sacrifice and Crazy Dances, and pretty surely the Drum, Kit-fox and Dog Dances. As regards the Fly Dance, this was ordinarily held in connection with one of the other Dances, so everybody would be present anyhow. As regards the Old Men's and Old Women's Dances, they were not so lively or colorful, and were held a little apart and the people did not take much interest in them and "did not go much" to them; attendance was apparently not required.

If any individual or group failed to come when summoned, the
*796 vower would request the soldiers of the Stars or Wolves as the
626 case might be, compel attendance.[*] Even a war party could not
start out if some one had vowed a dance and it was about ready
701 to begin. So much for the types or personnel,—vower, associates,
age-groups, ceremonial "grandfathers," criers, police, and "congregation,"—more or less common to all the Sacred Lodges. Personnel peculiar to particular Dances will be taken up later when each is described. Before describing the Dances one by one, some ritual observances common to all or many of them may be noted.

796 After the vower of a Dance had chosen his ritual grandfather and before any further ritual step toward fulfillment of his vow 796 had been taken, he arranged to have formal and public announcement of his vow to the people, even though he had already told some of his relatives or friends quickly or confidentially of it. In some instances the actual making of the vow took place at the public announcement rite. In either case the vower would call together in his own lodge all the "holy" men and women, such as ex-keepers but looked upon as holy, powerful, great. When all had gathered and were properly and solemnly seated, the vower filled a common pipe, offered it to one of the men present to have him pray with it and announce the vow. The one to whom it was offered could not refuse. If he were already in the place of honor in the circle he would remain there; else he would take it, and the occupant would vacate it. The chosen announcer would next make a smudge with sweet grass, and smudge the pipe in it. Then carrying the pipe he would go outside the lodge, stand in front of it, and in a loud voice call for order and command attention. After all was quiet, he would hold up the pipe and say: "So-and-so (the vower's name) has made a vow to do such-and-such (the content of the vow), you, Ixtcibaniːhɔhat," ending with a prolonged "Yo ho ho ho." Then he prayed, addressing first as always, the Supreme Being and next to the other supernatural beings such as the Four Holy Beings, Those-who-follow-each-other, but not the Last Child, that the vow might be carried out well, that its purpose might be attained (if not already attained), and that no sickness or other misfortune might come to the tribe during or after the ritual fulfillment of the vow. During the prayer, the announcer would mention the name of the person whom the vower had chosen as ritual grandfather. After ending the prayer, the announcer re-entered the lodge, and gave the pipe to this grandfather, and the latter took the place of honor which the announcer had momentarily occupied. Before or after the handing over of the pipe, all would smoke it, and some of those present would, of their own choice and without being invited, say a short prayer for themselves or for the vower.

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[*] For a detailed illustration of this point, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 49-51.

Throughout the Sacred Dances, any ritual praying and smoking 796*
to be done with a pipe was done with an ordinary black stone pipe. 276
Apart from the bringing of the Flat Pipe to the erection of the

+796 [276] Sacrifice Dance center pole, the sacred Pipes did not enter at all into the Sacred Lodges.

[801] In all the Sacred Dances, the ritual number was four and movement was clockwise.

A sweat-lodge rite was held in connection with the Sacrifice and Crazy Dances, but we could obtain no details on it; whether also in connection with the others our informants could not say.

The Sacrifice, Drum, Kit-fox, Dog and Crazy Dances regularly lasted four nights and days; the Fly and probably the Old Men's and Old Women's just one day.

The sacred Dances were not held in the winter time when the bands were usually widely scattered, but in the period from about May or June when the bands foregathered to September after which the bands tended to scatter for the fall buffalo hunt.

[361] The lodges for the Old Men's and Old Women's Dances were very simple and were put up outside the camp circle toward the south thereof. The lodges for the other Dances were erected inside the camp circle, near the center.

Feasting daily during the four-day dances was customary, except during the Sacrifice Dance which entailed much fasting on the part of the participants.

The alternation of reverent tension and pleasurable free release that characterized the sacred Pipe rites was even more characteristic of the Sacred Dances.

SACRIFICE DANCE

*796 The proper name of the Gros Ventre dance commonly referred to by whites and by many English-speaking Gros Ventres as the Sun Dance is aθe:hao'wɔ (literally, "sacrifice lodge"—aθe:'atc "sacrifice" and -ao'wɔ "sacred [not common] lodge"; cf. Sifton "sacrifice," athêyach and "Sun Dance," athéihawh'). We are therefore using the term Sacrifice Dance for it. The sun does not enter at all into it. The name apparently has references to the tortures undergone around the center pole by the main participants.

115 Our chief informants on the Sacrifice Dance were The Boy and Thick, who had witnessed the rite as boys and who had learned much about it from their elders: Coming Daylight, who had wit-

nessed the rite about ten times, Singer who had taken part in it 115 by giving presents, by singing, and by riding double with the men going out to look for the center pole; Mathilda Cuts-the-rope; Al Chandler, and Thomas Main. Thick's father made the last Sacrifice Dance in 1884.[19]

The origin Story of the Sacrifice Dance as told by The Boy is 773 as follows:

"In the days when Niːhəhat was still around, a Gros Ventre 539 man went out hunting in the timberland where there was a lot of trees and brush. While he was hunting he heard a noise. He listened to find the direction from which the noise was coming and then went in that direction. He sneaked around and looked from under cover. He saw a dance going on. A bunch of buffalo were dancing in a circle. He looked on a long time unseen by them. He heard the songs they were singing and learned them, and saw how everything was done. He saw a buffalo bring the other buffalo and set them in a semi-circle, and saw them sit down in a semi-circle.

"He made up his mind to approach them. So he walked over to where they were. When the leader of the buffalo, at the back of the lodge opposite the door, saw him, he invited him to come in and sit down beside him: 'Do like we are doing. Look around and see how the lodge is made. Study it and try to remember it and all the things here.' The man saw a buffalo skull alongside the center pole.

"The chief buffalo then said to him: 'I give you this lodge (dance). Use it. If in sickness or in danger the people promise they will make a Sacrifice Dance I will help them. When you implore the help of the Sacrifice Dance, it will be a powerful means to avert sickness or danger.' So the man left and went back home and related what he had seen and experienced. He is

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[19] In 1948 The Boy, Charles Buckman and Steve Bradley among them were able to name 15 of the 23 Dancers whose flesh was pierced at this last Dance, as follows: Bull Head, Horse Capture (Thick's brother), Stiffarm, Wolf, Stiff Wings, Grebe Child (The Boy's brother), Arrowhead, Peter Capture, Boy Capture, Strikes On Top, Dan Sleeping Bear, Skinner, Many Capture, Stabber, Fluttering Eagle. Dan Sleeping Bear had told Charles Buckman that there had been 23 altogether. [R.F.]

773 539 the one who introduced the Sacrifice Dance among the Gros Ventre people."

*796 171 Although in the origin story, it was the chief buffalo who promised to give aid to those who would perform the Sacrifice Dance, actually the chief buffalo was not prayed to during it, nor was the sun or any other being except the Supreme Being and Bha'a. Our chief informants have considerable knowledge of the Piegan (Blackfoot), Assiniboine and Crow Sun Dances, and emphasized various important differences, as they understood them, between these dances and their own Sacrifice Dance. "These sacrifices [in the Sacrifice Dance]," Al Chandler remarked, "were made to God, not to the Sun. I have always wondered why people call our Sacrifice Dance the Sun Dance. Anything the Blackfeet cannot understand they call the Sun and think he must be something." According to The Boy and Thick, while the Blackfeet pray to the Sun and while the Assiniboine in their Sun Dance pray and sing to the Thunder Bird (corresponding to the Gros Ventre Bha'a), the Gros Ventres in their own Sacrifice Dance prayed chiefly to Ixtcibani:həhat, secondarily, as will be explained later, to Bha'a, and with some incidental mention of or appeal to the Four Holy Beings and Those-who-follow-each-other (Sun and Moon) when praying with a pipe. Vows to carry out the Sacrifice Dance were made by the Gros Ventres only to the Supreme Being; the sacrifices of property, the prayer-"sacrifices" of self-torture and fasting, and the chief verbalized and gesture prayers during the rite were likewise directed to him. Our informants consistently and insistently emphasized that the Gros Ventre Sacrifice Dance was, in this sense, a predominantly theistic ceremony.

*796 794 771 While more generally the Sacrifice Dance was regarded as of lower ritual rank than the Flat and Feathered Pipe rites and as of higher rank than any of the other seven sacred Dances, there was some difference of view on the point among our informants. The Boy, who himself emphatically ranked Flat Pipe rite as far and away first in dignity of all Gros Ventre ceremonies, with the Feathered Pipe rite, Sacrifice Dance, and other dances following in this order of dignity, summed up the situation as follows:

"While the supreme religion of the Gros Ventres was the Flat

Pipe, some individuals or whole bands would consider the Sacrifice 796*
Dance as greatest, would give first preference to the Sacrifice 794
Dance as a means of worshiping the Supreme Being, or would 776
think of the Sacrifice Dance and other Sacred Dances as supreme. Then there were other individuals and bands who would prefer to worship through the Pipe *and* the Sacrifice Dance, or through the Pipe *and* some other Sacred Lodge."

Among the reasons he and other informants gave for ranking the Flat Pipe rite above the Sacrifice Dance were the connection of the Pipe with the creation and history of the world and man, the donation of the Pipe by the Supreme Being, the rigidly determined and scrupulously observed ritual, the absence of all vulgar elements from the Pipe celebrations (as contrasted with some at least of the Sacred Dances). Reasons given for ranking the Sacrifice Dance above the other dances were that the Flat Pipe entered into active participation in the Sacrifice Dance and it alone entailed dire hardships in the way of self-torture, hunger and thirst.

The Sacrifice Dance was held only when some man had vowed 796*
it. A woman could not vow it, but, to judge from the story of
First Singer, could vow to request a man to hold the Dance. A 782
given man could vow to hold the dance as principal actor in it only once in his lifetime, but he could join the dance as an active associate participant a number of times. Once he had gone through it in fulfillment of a vow, he could serve as ceremonial grandfather on a later occasion to another who wanted to go through it.

The vow was made to the Supreme Being. In the story of First Singer, however, whether her vow was made to the Supreme Being or to the sun or to both is not clear.

If the vow were made in, say, midwinter, its fulfillment would be deferred until about June or when the spring vegetation was well advanced. In the meantime the vower might choose his grandfather and a crier, the formal public announcement of the vow might be made, and the preliminary four nights of singing might be gone through. Before the dance began this good-time singing, by men and women jointly, took place on four separate nights, not necessarily successive ones, but any nights during the preceding month or year. The fourth of these, however, had to

*796 782 be on the night immediately preceding the beginning of the Dance rite proper.

[785] Usually others besides the principal vower would vow to join the dance and to pierce their breasts with skewers. These associate vowers would also choose each his own grandfather and, with the help of his own crier, have the same formal public announcement made of his vow as in the case of the principal vower.

As proximate preparation for the Dance, if the bands were scattered at the time, the principal vower would send out young men as runners to summon the bands to foregather for the dance. Attendance was obligatory for all.

The principal vower set up his lodge in the center of the camp circle, and here headquarters were established where conferences of the vower and his assistants were held and whence pro tem laws and regulations, decisions when and whether to move camp, and so forth, were issued.

The vower's chief assistants in these matters were his own age-group or company, a component sub-group of either the Wolves or the Stars. Whether all the Wolves or Stars respectively, and not merely the vower's own age-group, were divided into "talls" and "shorts" (see below), and served as soldiers or "police" during the dance, to enforce attendance, order in the buffalo hunt and so forth, is a point we could not clear up, but more probably only the members of his own age-group.

[561 701] For either the vower's age-group, or perhaps, as just noted, all the Stars or Wolves respectively of which his age-group was a component sub-group, four head officers or "generals" or "lieutenants" were chosen, and also two subordinate officers or "servants" or attendants. The two tallest of the four head officers took the taller men of the age-group (or of the larger society, Stars or Wolves) as their soldiers, and one of the two subordinate officers; the two shortest, the shorter men, and the other subordinate officer. The two divisions, the "talls" and the "shorts," constituted the "soldiers" or "police" for the dance. Each division also had an outstanding old man as herald or crier.

[224] After the people had all been gathered together, the first task was that of gathering food supplies, buffalo meat and particularly

buffalo tongues, for the celebration. The vower and his assistants 796*
would through their crier announce to the people whether the 782
camp would move for good hunting. On the march, the vower 224
and his company took their place in line immediately after the
sacred Pipes. No one was allowed to hunt or run the buffalo until
the signal was given.

During the hunt there would be foot and horse races, shooting 782
contests and gambling matches between the "talls" and "shorts."
The losers in the gambling would have to "cook," that is, to provide 796*
a meal for the winners, a feast at which the rest of the 525
people, including the children, would horn in. Each one of the 527
losers had to furnish some food or clothing and a smoke (not the 522
pipe itself) to the winners. If one of the losers failed to bring a
filled pipe along with the food or clothing wager, the wager was
rejected, but he was given a chance to go get one. The winners
kept track of the losers, and if any of the latter failed to pay up,
they would not do anything to him at once while they were
sitting around eating. But afterwards, the winners, followed by
the rest of the people, would go to the lodge of the delinquent loser,
who usually did not and dared not run away. Here the enemy-friend
of the loser would take the latter out of his lodge, and lay
him on a spread robe or blanket. The winners would then carry
him to the stream or river, give him a good swing and throw him
into the water. All the people would follow to see the fun, and
the young boys would pelt him with buffalo chips. The victim
had to take it all good naturedly and not lose his temper, and the
crowd had a good laugh. If the loser were not in his lodge when
the winners arrived, they would fetch water, and his enemy-friend
would give the loser's bed a good drenching.

The hunt continued, the group moving here and there, until 782
enough tongues and other meat was collected, the tongues having 796*
been turned over to the vower to be jerked by his wife or wives.
Then came the earlier-mentioned four whole nights of singing, [224
done either on successive nights, or from time to time as the 251]
tribe moved toward the spot selected for the Sacrifice Dance. After
arrival there the fourth of the four all-night singings took place,
marking the first night or beginning of the Dance proper, which

782 *796 occupied a continuous four-day (or three-day and four-night) period.

At some time during the preparatory period, prior to the start 782 of the dance proper, the principal vower's ceremonial grandfather *796 taught him how to dance with the sacred wheel which was in one sense the main ritual object used in the Sacrifice Dance. One such 778 wheel, we were told, is still in existence, in the possession of Mrs. Grace Stevens, but we did not have an opportunity to see it. It was vaguely described to us as being not a "woven wheel" but only a "hoop" with some down feathers attached to it. In dancing with the wheel, the dancer sang and with his right arm hanging down held the wheel in his right hand and swung it back and forth. When he tired of swinging it in his right hand he changed it behind his back to his left and swung it. When the Sacrifice Dance proper began, the principal vower was given possession of it for the duration, with the full right to carry and swing it whenever during the rite he danced and to otherwise use it. If one of the other dancers weakened and fainted from hunger, thirst, fatigue or pain, the principal vower would go to him and pass the wheel back and forth in front of the unconscious man's face, and would so revive him. Whether other vowers than the principal one could ever dance with the wheel we did not discover.

*796 Those who "joined" the dance, at least the principal and associate [834] vowers, had to refrain from sexual intercourse for a while, say two or three nights, before the dance proper began.

The morning after the last of the four nights of singing began the ceremonial "scouting" for felling and fetching of the center pole of the dance lodge.

Early that morning, four prominent warriors, men who had been successful as scouts in sighting the enemy and bringing back information, were selected to go look for a center pole. Each had to put on his war accoutrements as if he were setting out on a war expedition. While the four were gone, those who had sent them gathered buffalo chips and put them in a pile. The four scouts on returning announced their approach by giving a special yell, and the people would say: "The scouts are coming." As the four approached closer to the waiting crowd who were ranged in a half-

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circle facing south with the pile of buffalo chips a little in front of them, they moved single file clockwise in four circles, to signify that their "scouting" had been successful and stopped just before reaching the pile of chips. Then some outstanding warrior who had made his mark in a particular battle in which no Gros Ventre had been killed walked out to meet the four, and they gave him a report of what they had seen on their scouting. Leaving them standing there, he then went back to the crowd.

Meanwhile the crowd had been singing, a first song when they first sighted the returning scouts, a second when they approached nearer, a third when they were about completing their fourth circle. A fourth and last one was sung as the above outstanding warrior was coming back to them.

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At the end of this fourth song, this warrior danced and told four of his war exploits, all four performed in battles in which no Gros Ventre blood had been shed. After this he said to the four scouts: "All right, now tell your story." The four then after walking four times around the pile of chips, gave their report to the crowd: "Over there at such-and-such a spot we found a center pole."

This whole ritual "scouting" for and reporting on the pole followed closely the similar procedure in actual war-time scouting. One difference is that in the latter, scouts returning unsuccessfully would approach in a winding snake fashion instead of in the four circles.[11]

Next came the felling rite. The crowd, on being told the location of the tree selected for the center pole, went thither and the principal vower, his ritual grandfather and the four scouts went with them, the grandfather taking along a filled pipe. When they had all reached the spot, the grandfather made a smudge alongside the tree, smudged the pipe in it, and prayed with the pipe to the Supreme Being. Then each of the four scouts in turn stepped up to the tree and told four of his war exploits performed in engagements in which no Gros Ventre blood had been shed. This made 16 exploits in all. At the end of each of the 16 narratives, the respective narrating scout made a motion toward the tree as if going to chop it down. The narratives over, the four scouts went

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[11] For procedure in war scouting, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 90-91.

*796 over and sat down with the principal vower and his grandfather and all six of them smoked the grandfather's filled pipe. When they had finished smoking, two young men selected for the purpose started to actually fell the tree. As soon as the tree began to totter, the four scouts shot at it and yelled, just as was done at the killing of an enemy in real warfare.

After the tree was "shot down," it was dragged in by the young men "soldiers," with much yelling and shooting, and was deposited at the spot where the Sacrifice Dance was to be held.

[262] Then a recess was taken and those not obliged to fast ate. The chief food eaten at the Sacrifice Dance was buffalo tongues and pemmican, both already prepared, which could be eaten in a hurry, for no one knew at what moment some order to be obeyed would be announced by the crier.

[593] After the recess the "soldiers" went out to get the other poles and the brush needed for the dance lodge. Each "soldier" would choose a woman, not his own wife, but "his sister-in-law, or any other woman of whom he was not bashful" to ride double with and accompany him. The women would dress up and stand outside their lodges waiting for the men to come along and put them on their horses. The woman sat on the saddle, the man riding behind her. Some women would run away so as to avoid going out with the men, "probably," Coming Daylight stated, "because these ones were afraid of their husbands." Coming Daylight herself had never so gone, but Singer had. "Some husbands," Singer commented, "were too jealous to allow their wives to go with other men to get branches for the Sacrifice Dance lodge."

*796 The poles and brush were brought in, and a number of hoisting
346 props were made. These props were made each of two tent poles; to one end of each pole a single short transverse connecting thong was fastened. The two divisions of "soldiers" the "talls" and the "shorts," each then split up into two subdivisions making four subdivisions in all. At the call of the crier, "Get ready," these four subdivisions began to march toward the hole, previously dug, for the center pole which lay alongside, all singing their parade song. On the way toward the spot, each of the four subdivisions had a number of the double-pole hoisting props, each prop being carried

vertically by two men, and the subdivisions all made four stops or halts, the last one right where center pole lay. Here they recessed a bit, waiting for the Flat Pipe. 796* 346

"The man who was going to put up the center pole," apparently the principal vower, would then take some goods as presents to the Flat Pipe keeper and ask that the Pipe be brought over for the raising of the center pole. The Flat Pipe was then brought to the spot by the co-keeper, with the ritual observances previously described (supra, p. 117), the prayer on the occasion being said by the Flat Pipe keeper, not by the vower or his grandfather or anyone else, and after the pole was up the co-keeper took the Pipe back. The bringing of the Pipe was intended, according to The Boy, to add solemnity and prestige by such participation to the Sacrifice Dance and to "sort of bless the dance and ask that good would come of it."

The center pole was forked at the top and was decorated, as described in detail on page 10, with symbols of Bha'a. At the base of the erected pole was an old bleached buffalo skull, placed facing the lodge door.

Before the center pole was raised, the principal vower's wife was taken over to the pole by his (and her) ceremonial grandfather who then "blew medicine" on it four times, the wife putting a band around it, and also the other poles of the dance lodge, with red paint.

The center pole was quickly raised, with the mechanical help of the hoisting props and apparently with the supernatural help of the Flat Pipe. Everybody cheered when the pole was finally raised upright in its hole. After it was firmly embedded, the upper ends of the rafters were placed in the center pole fork, the lower ends, seemingly, in other forked upright posts, and lashed on with rawhide. The sides of the circular dance lodge were then filled in with willows. The lodge was located near the center of the camp circle and faced south. According to Singer, "only great warriors went out to get sticks to keep the lodge lighted at night."

Clothing, dry goods and other offerings were tied on to the rafters, not on to the center pole, either before the lodge was erected or afterwards by a young man who climbed up the structure to tie 796*

*796 them and these offerings "hung thick up there." The offerings were made to the Supreme Being to ask long life and happiness.

After the lodge was up, all who were to "join" the Sacrifice Dance went inside. Dancing continued for the three (or two?) succeeding nights, we were informed, but we obtained no further details on the ritual followed during this preparatory interim period, except as regards fasting. Those at least who were to go [785 834] through self-torture on the fourth day and apparently some of the other active participants had to observe a strict fast from food and drink during this four-day period as well as to abstain from sexual intercourse. Those so submitting themselves to this regime would be further tested out by singers. Songs might be sung, for instance, about water, with words such as, "all the rivers and creeks have run dry," or about love and women, all just to put the young men to the test. People who were not fasting would conspicuously display and eat food right under the eyes of the faster. One or other of the young men might weaken under these temptations and "sneak out and give up." If he did so the people would banter him: "You are no man. You can't stand it," and his father or uncle would "give him the dickens about it."

785 *796 Back of the fasting and sex abstinence as well as of the self-torture was a concept that was a basic theme of Gros Ventre religious culture in general, and that one of our informants, Al Chandler, expressed as follows: "The sacrifice [fasting, sex abstinence, self-torture] those men [of the Sacrifice Dance] made was like penance because they thought you could not get anything unless you punished yourself, for God was not going to give you anything if you went out there laughing and full of good food. He won't help you that way." Making one's self "pitiful" when seeking power of or answer to prayer is a part of this concept or closely related to it.

*796 During the whole Sacrifice Dance the vowers were supposed to keep their minds on their praying, to concentrate their thoughts —another basic Gros Ventre religious theme—and the "tempting" behavior of those around them was seemingly a test of the vower's power of concentration, his ability to insulate himself mentally against external distractions.

785 796* 302 532 The rite of self-torture, carried out on the day after the third (or second)[12] night of singing was the dramatic climax of the Sacrifice Dance. Either during the three-day singing and dancing or, more probably, on the morning of the day of torture occurred the painting and decorating of the dancers, those who had vowed to undergo self-torture.[13] By their respective grandfathers or others substituting as sort of "secondary grandfathers," each dancer was first painted over his entire body with white clay. On his upper chest, near the neck, was painted in black with charcoal or paint the figure of a bird (evidently representing Bha'a, the Thunder Bird), and a black zigzag line ending in a fork from each of the bird's wings across the chest and down either arm of the dancer to the forearm, and a similar black zigzag fork-ended line from each of the bird's feet down either leg and thigh to the ankle. Another black zigzag line, forked at both ends, was painted across the dancer's forehead, and under each eye, a vertical zigzag line, ending at the bottom in a fork, but painted in red, not in black. Sprigs of sage-brush were put on as wristlets and anklets, and around the head "so that they met over the eyes." "Common dancers" and other active participants such as the ceremonial grandfathers were painted all over with red paint instead of white clay, and were apparently decorated with over-painted designs similar to those of the self-torturers, the "dancers" proper.

785 796* The self-torture rite, on the last day of the Sacrifice Dance, began with the skin-piercing, the insertion of the skewers, and the attachment of the thongs and shield. The skin-piercing was done by the respective grandfathers to whom the respective vowers, their grandchildren, gave generous presents of horses, robes and

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[12] Our informants agreed that the Sacrifice Dance lasted through four nights, but whether the night of singing just before the "scouting" for the center pole counted as one of these four or not, and hence whether the skin piercing took place on the second or third day after the "scouting" was not made fully clear to us,—more probably the third day.

[13] In 1948 The Boy stated that the dancers were painted with white clay and their faces painted differently each morning. "On the first day each dancer has a red dot on each cheek, the second day two dots, the third day, three,—these are their tears and indicated that the dancers are crying." [R.F.]

785 so forth for this service.[14] The one who originally vowed to put on the Dance was not pierced.

*796 A best robe or blanket was spread on the ground and the vower lay down on it. Three skewers in all were inserted, one on either side of the chest, and a third in the back at the left shoulderblade. The skewers were smooth wooden sticks "about as thick as a man's little finger," of flattish oval section, and "about as long as a cigarette" (ca. 3 in.). To insert the skewer, first an awl was plunged into and under the skin (apparently vertically), and with the awl the skin was raised up. Then with a knife the grandfather cut two holes in the raised skin, one on either side of the awl, at right angles thereto. The skewer was at once inserted, and then the awl was taken out. Thus for the insertion of each of the three skewers, three incisions were made, one with the awl and two with the knife. During this piercing and skewer insertion, song No. 48 was sung, a song sung only at this time.

After the skewers had been inserted, the vower stood up. To each of the skewers in his chest was securely attached one end of a stout buckskin thong, the other end of which was tied to the center pole. On the body end of the thong had been sewn a piece of buckskin with a short longitudinal slash in it, and the sides of the slash were looped under the projecting ends of the skewer (between the ends and the skin). To the skewer in the vower's back a shield was firmly fastened.

After this, each vower's grandfather would then put one hand on his grandson's chest and with the other would give the two thongs a hard pull and would jerk the thongs and push his "grandson" around,—this "to deaden his nerves," to kind of deaden the hurt and wound, and "to give him a sample of what was coming." Now the vowers were ready to "dance."

The vowers "danced," only one at a time. As each vower finished his "dance," he did not leave the scene, but waited until all had finished. While the vowers "danced" the old women sat around in

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[14] In 1948 The Boy emphasized that while the grandchildren paid the grandfather handsomely for his services during the Sacred Dance, the grandfather on the other hand "nursed his children" by feeding them well during the preliminary steps of instruction. [R.F.]

a circle and sang a wordless song, while "other men and women 785
danced up and down in one place behind the old women singers." 796*

The vower would start his "dance" by reaching back and tearing off his shield, and in doing so, of course tearing the skin over the skewer in his back. Then with the bone whistle he carried round [534] his neck he blew "a rapid whistle," "a sort of trill," "as if he were blowing on a flute,"—this as a sign he was ready to go through the rest of the ordeal. Then while the singers "sang hard for him," he danced with both feet, pumped up and down, and swung around, pulling and jerking and backing on the taut thongs attached to the center pole in order to tear the skewered flesh of his chest and to free himself. Sometimes the flesh would not break, or the flesh on one side of his chest would while that on the other would not. When the ordeal would go on very long, and the suffering would be extreme, and the dancer might be exhausting himself, some one of the onlookers might have pity on him and say to a bystander: "You go and tear him loose." He would then go and push and throw the "dancer" hard so the skin would break off. The Boy and Thick knew one case where the skin on one side of the "dancer's" chest would not break off even by such pushing and throwing; so they had to cut it with a knife. People thought that the darker a man's skin was the tougher it was and this last man had very dark skin. "Sometimes the dancer's skin was so tough it would stretch way out like a shirt." When a "dancer's" skin would finally break under the pulling and backing he would just fall over to the ground and the thong would spring back round the pole. Then he would be taken back and laid down and the loose skin would be trimmed off. These trimmed off pieces of skin would be gotten together by the ritual grandfathers who would take them to the buffalo skull (at the base of the center pole), hold them up, and then lay them on top of the skull, "as an offering of the very body itself."

"Some 'dancers' did not have much nerve and would wince and flinch. Some didn't bat an eye." At one dance, Coming Daylight told us, one young man after the thongs were attached and pulled "just burst out crying, it was so painful. After that he went to [152] the center pole and put his arms around it and cried there. I

785 *796 [152] couldn't stand it. I ran home to my grandmother and cried too because I pitied that young man." On another occasion, Thick too, then a young boy, "cried from the pitiful scene," as he expressed it. "Big Thunder," according to Coming Daylight, "had very long thick hair. When he was dancing around the pole in the Sacrifice Dance his hair swept the ground. It looked just awful. I screamed and ran home." From what was told The Boy by his brother who underwent this self-torture once in the Sacrifice Dance and twice alone on a knoll (see details of latter rite, pp. 393-398), "The beginning was hardest; as you went along, you got sort of numbed and the pain was not so bad." His brother had felt very acute pain at the trimming of the lacerated flesh. That night the pain was so intense that he could not sleep: "it was as if two red hot coals were there."

According to Al Chandler the Gros Ventres considered their Sacrifice Dance a much more severe ordeal in the way of self-torture and fasting than were the Sun Dances of neighboring tribes and to this severity they attributed the early abandonment of the rite.

After all the "dancers" had in turn gone through their self-torture, they left the scene together, and were through with their participation in the Sacrifice Dance and could break their fast. But, through the succeeding fourth night, some of the other participants (which ones we could not discover) continued their fast, and the others danced and sang.

*796 Certain important features of the Sacrifice Dance have not been mentioned so far, as we could not learn just where they fitted into the ritual sequence. We shall describe them now.

The Boy was quite positive that a sweat-lodge rite was held in connection with the Sacrifice Dance, on the fourth night of singing and just prior to the beginning of the Dance proper. In all likelihood the rite followed in general pattern that of the Sacred Pipe sweat-lodge. Sweet grass was the proper ritual material smudge throughout the Sacrifice Dance including this preliminary sweating.

787 *796 Some of the participants in the Sacrifice Dance,—"not necessarily the one or ones who had made vows, but dancers trying their

utmost to be fervent and sincere,"—would, at some time or times 787
(not specified by our informants) during the rite, keep staring 796*
fixedly for a long time at the "nest" in the fork of the center pole. The purpose was mostly "to see things that related to war." "If the gazer saw the forms of headless human beings, that meant that the Gros Ventres were going to be given an enemy to kill." Sometimes was seen a human form, healthy, all painted up and dressed in good clothes: This meant that the favors being sought through the Sacrifice Dance would be granted. In the Assiniboine and Cree Sun Dances, our Gros Ventre informants said, the staring [171]
is done in contrast to the Gros Ventre custom, at the knots in the center pole, but for what purpose our informants did not know.

This divination gazing to foreknow martial fortunes, taken together with the markedly martial symbolism underlying the scouting for and felling of the center pole, lend a definitely, although by no means exclusively or even predominantly, war coloring to the Sacrifice Dance,—a coloring almost entirely absent from the Sacred Pipe rites, which are concerned dominantly though not exclusively, with long life, food and health.

The gazing, at "Bha'a's nest," brought Bha'a, the Thunder Bird 796*
and ruler of the storm, prominently into the Sacrifice Dance, as did also the thunder bird and lightning symbols painted on the bodies of the dancers and carved on the center pole as well as certain reliances on and prayers to him during the Dance. "If the dancers had danced a long time," according to Al Chandler, "and were getting weak, Bha'a, it was claimed, could make it cool and shady or even make it rain." Bha'a, too, was mentioned, after the Supreme Being, in some at least of the prayers with the common pipe. In all cases however, where Bha'a entered into prayers, he was either given subordinate second-place mention or was appealed to as a subordinate agent, with limited autonomy, of the Supreme Being. The vows, the sacrifices of goods and flesh, the tortures, and predominantly the prayers and rites were to the Supreme Being. As one informant put it, "all the things done in the Sacrifice Dance,—the tortures and so forth,—were one great mass prayer to the Supreme Being."

We recorded five of the Sacrifice Dance songs, but there were

*796 We recorded five of the Sacrifice Dance songs, but there were others, apparently many others. The skin-piercing song has been
533 mentioned above. Another song recorded, a wordless one, number 49, as rendered by The Boy, was sung "when the old man [the grandfather] put the young fellow [his grandson, a 'dancer'] to sleep,"—a reference not clear to us. We also recorded another song, a wordless one, No. 51, as sung by The Boy. Another song, not recorded by us, but known to Singer, contained the words: "I soaked them with water."

The story back of one of the Sacrifice Dance songs, number 109, a wordless one, recorded by us as sung by Charles Buckman, was given us by him as follows:

"On one occasion the Gros Ventres held a Sacrifice Dance. Just then a new Sacrifice Dance song sprang up and was sung often during the four days and nights of the Dance. After the Dance was over, the people broke camp and moved to a site five or six miles down the creek. That evening a woman disappeared and no one knew what had become of her. The next day a searching party was sent out to find her. Some of the young fellows rode back toward where the Dance had been and when they got close they thought they heard someone singing. So they stopped and listened. Someone was singing this new song. 'It's a woman,' they said. 'Let's go and see.' So they rode up to the abandoned Dance lodge and inside it they saw the woman all alone shaking leaves (as was the custom) and singing this song. They took her and carried her back to the camp. There she had to be hobbled in order to be kept from running away. She died soon after."

Another Sacrifice Dance song, number 50, recorded by us as sung by The Boy, has the words: "The Fur Cap (an older Gros Ventre name for The Little Rockies) on the side (side hill or
[836] slope) of it. There is frivolity (sexual cutting up or looseness)." This song was composed on the Hays side of the big brush between what are now Hays and St. Paul's Mission. Ritual sex license did not enter into the Sacrifice Dance, but during the Dance when the leading people and their helpers were busy and all the tribe was gathered together some of the younger people might seize the opportunity to "play a little," as The Boy euphemistically put it. Mothers would be anxious about their daughters. At any

rate it was apparently a well-known song, as Singer also, who 796*
knew some of the Sacrifice Dance songs, knew it and spoke of it. [533]

Besides the sacrifice offerings, previously mentioned, of the trimmed pieces of flesh, and the self-torture looked upon itself as a sort of "sacrifice," other offerings of clothing, dry goods and so forth were made at the Sacrifice Dance. These offerings were made, Coming Daylight stated, "to ask the Supreme Being to give them a long happy life," and both she and Singer on another occasion affirmed that the "sacrifice" in the Sacrifice Dance was offered to the Supreme Being.

Further, apart from the gifts made by vowers to their ritual 796*
grandfathers for the skin piercing and to the Flat Pipe keeper by 431
the principal vower, presents were commonly given away by relatives of the self-torturers to third parties,—old people, visitors from neighboring tribes, or others,—in honor of the self-torturers, or perhaps of others, too. At one Sacrifice Dance, Singer was allowed by her husband, Crooked Arm, to be present because her mother's brother was to participate (apparently as a self-torturer) in it. "I gave," she said, "a dress and a blanket in my uncle's honor. I put them down and a woman grabbed them immediately. When nobody grabbed the things, someone would go around and give them to old people. Most of the stuff was just piled up and then all of it was given away. If there were visitors present from another tribe, they would be given some of the stuff. Someone told that woman right there that she should not have grabbed those things, but they were not taken away from her. People used to give away even horses at a Sacrifice Dance." Coming Daylight's uncle, Crow Bull, gave an Assiniboine, Old Man Pigeon Toes, a horse at a Sacrifice Dance in which her husband, Little Man, took part in the "sham Battle." "Through these presents," she added, "Old Man Pigeon Toes claimed relationship with Crow Bull and called me 'grandchild.' The Assiniboine are worse than the Gros Ventres for claiming relationships!"

As is obvious, it cost a vower, particularly the principal vower, 796*
a great deal to put up a Sacrifice Dance, and the occasion was also a considerable drain upon the resources of his relatives. Perhaps this, rather than any ritual prohibition, was the reason why,

*796 ordinarily at least, a man would be principal vower of a Sacrifice Dance only once in his life, although he might "join" a number of times.

CRAZY DANCE

This dance was called haha :tcau'wɔ "crazy or silly lodge" (cf. Sifton, hăhachena, adj. "crazy, silly"). The dance was also called in common parlance the "miller dance," and the dancers, "millers," —the reference being to the origin of the rite and to the fire ceremony of the fourth day, to be described presently. Millers or moths are also called by the Gros Ventres "Crazy Men."

The Crazy Dance was last held immediately or shortly after the last performance, in 1884, of the Sacrifice Dance. Our chief informants on the Crazy Dance were: The Boy and Thick who had witnessed it three times and participated once respectively in the role of "little Crazy Dancers"; Turn Toes who had taken part as a regular "dancer"; Coming Daylight and Singer, both of whom had witnessed the dance, the former several times, although neither had actually joined it. Our information on the Crazy Dance is considerably more extensive than on the Drum, Dog, and Kit-fox dances, but is still far from complete. It confirms many details of Kroeber's account,[15] and adds a number of others.

*796 773 We did not obtain the full origin story of the Crazy Dance. The Boy stated that this rite had been first given (to the Gros Ventres) by a miller (moth), that the Crazy Dancers when they jumped in the fire on the fourth day, were imitating the millers who fly around (and go into) the fire at night,—an interpretation confirmed by Coming Daylight,—and that the old cloak donned in the bow rites on the fourth day was "in imitation of millers," but neither he nor Thick knew any origin story of the dance, nor did they know why the badger and owl (see infra) entered into the rite.

*796 The Crazy Dance was, like the other Sacred Dances, held in fulfillment of a vow made by a man in case of his own, or a relative's serious illness or other grave emergency. Unlike any of the other Sacred Dances, it was also held under the following circumstances, without previous vow proper.

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[15] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, pp. 241-50.

Between times, during the summer months, that is, when no sacred dance was in progress, the two soldier societies, the Stars and the Grass dancers (Wolves), would compete with each other in foot races or other sports or in gambling bouts.[16] The losers would have to "cook" or to do other things for the winners. The losers in formation, with one of them in front carrying the Crazy Dance badger pelt trimmed and fixed up and tied to one end of a stick, might go to where the winners were sitting in a sort of semi-circle. On arrival there, the man carrying the pelt would say: "We are also bringing the badger pelt. It, too, we lost in the bet,"—although actually the pelt itself had not been wagered. This was a dare or challenge to the winners to put up the Crazy Lodge, a challenge which they were "compelled" to accept. Some great man among the winners would then get up, take the badger pelt from the man who brought it, and make an exclamation meaning that he was glad and that he accepted the challenge. He and his fellow-winners of the same age-group would then at once send criers to announce their acceptance of the challenge and, to give notice that they would without fail carry through their acceptance, would get in formation and sing. When the Crazy Dance was so carried out it had the same prestige and it was performed with the same rites and observances, as when carried out to fulfill a vow.

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Each of those men who joined the Crazy Dance joined with one of his wives or with a substitute for her. The chief although not the only role of these women was participation in the ritual grandfather sex-test to be described later. Some husbands were so jealous of their wives that they would do all possible to avoid joining the dance or having their wives join. This appears to have been the case with the husbands of Coming Daylight, who was a belle in her day. In other cases, as The Boy remarked, "the husband knew his wife's character and disposition, and if she were weak he did not put her to this test as he would be pretty sure that she would fail." Singer had never joined although some wanted her to do so at the time. "My husband," she said, "was advised not to let me do so because I was too young and I might make

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[16] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 42.

*796 a mistake [ritual?] and besides it was a hard thing to do. I was
593 too crazy yet, they said. At the time my husband's other wife was about to have a baby, and some wanted me to join so she would have a safe delivery, but the others did not let me do it." Then, too, if a wife were in her menses at the time of the dance, she to her embarrassment would have to say so and she would have to be substituted for. If a Crazy Dancer did not have a wife of his own he could borrow one, a sister-in-law or other woman with whom an avoidance or respect relationship did not obtain. Thus Little Man, Coming Daylight's husband, once gave permission to his unmarried younger brother, Spotted Bird, to join the Crazy Dance with her, but Spotted Bird declined on the ground of his being too young, although actually Spotted Bird took part in that Dance as an attendant, which made Little Man so angry that he would not give anything away during the Dance for Spotted Bird. "A man," said The Boy, "who loaned his wife to another man for the Crazy Dance had to be a strong man. And before he would lend any of his women he was pretty sure he was lending away the right one who had strong character because it was tough."

When a man made a vow or accepted a challenge to perform the Crazy Dance all and only the members of his own company such as Calves, Holding-on-to-dog's-tail, Having-breast-for-a-pillow, or other,—within the Stars or Wolves as the case might be, joined or were expected to join the dance with him. Actually, on at least some later Crazy Dance occasions, not all the members of the given age-group joined. When the crier announced the coming Dance, some of the men of the age-group involved might make remarks such as: "Well, these old men [the ritual grandfathers] are getting hungry for good times again! They want to play around! They are agitating for the Crazy Dance." And some might bypass that particular dance even though at the risk of being looked upon as jealous weaklings. "If," said The Boy "a man belonging to the age-group to which the vower of the Crazy Dance belonged failed to join the dance, without good excuse, he and
[626] his wife would catch it; this would be published, because he did not want to have his wife go through this [the ritual grandfather sex-test]."

For the duration of a Crazy Dance, political as well as ritual authority was vested in the age-group giving the Dance, and the ordinary personnel of government ceased for the time being to function. The Crazy Dancers ran everything; their word was law; they decided what was and was not to be done, even regarding the hunt. 796* [561 621]

The vower himself was for the time being in supreme command. He selected, as his councilors, however, four outstanding men, of middle age, older than the actual participant dancers, but not too old, men of prestige who had won recognition through merit, who had made their mark and were known as "chiefs," "successful and with good homes, good men." These four, according to Turn Toes, were chosen from among the next older age-group of the society, Stars or Wolves, to which the participant dancers age-group belonged, and were "elder brothers" of the dancers. Turn Toes emphasized more the ritual functions of these four "elder brothers." While the dancers themselves were in authority during the dance, and paid the expenses thereof, they would be helpless without knowledge of the proper rites and observances. The four "elder brothers" who had previously gone through the Crazy Dance, would be instructors in procedure to the group of younger dancers and would give the decisions thereon. The Boy emphasized more the political functions of the four "elder brothers." The vower together with these four constituted a sort of council or governing body. The five consulted and advised together on arrangements preparatory to and during the Dance, the "balance of power" resting with the vower in case of a deadlock among the four "elder brothers."

After these five got together they selected as their crier an intelligent old man who was known for his command of language. [203] He sat in on their meetings, but without vote, so to speak. It was his duty to listen carefully and keep abreast of proceedings, and when decisions were made by the council of five he was told: "Go around the whole camp and announce that such-and-such shall be done." The five also chose as attendants or servants two young men, apparently two who had not previously joined the Crazy Dance. These two had no initiative; their task was to do what

*796 the council told them to do. Before the Dance actually started, the participant age-group split up into two divisions, the "talls" and the "shorts," probably organized as in the Sacrifice Dance but we did not obtain details, except that the "talls" and "shorts" each selected a "tall" and a "short" old man respectively to be older brother to them and assistant to the above-mentioned chief crier. 789 The two groups competed and on one occasion in connection with *796 a Crazy Dance indulged in a contest of supernatural power, according to the following story narrated by The Boy.

"On one occasion, while preparing for a Crazy Dance, the 'talls' and 'shorts' besides engaging in games and sports against one another, played a game of magic, of exhibition of power. They put up a double lodge, like the one used in the Flat Pipe transfer rite, and started in to show their power, the 'talls' were against the 'shorts.' The contest went on and on, and a big crowd of spectators was attracted. The 'shorts' were losing and got mad. One of the 'shorts' made a snake, and it crawled around. At this the 'shorts' all cheered for their side, and said: 'You "talls" can't match that.' But the 'shorts' did not reckon with their opponents. 'All right,' said the 'talls,' 'We'll show you.'

"One of the 'talls' then stepped out in the middle. He used to wear in his hair a piece of rawhide cut out in the figure of an elk. He said to his comrades, 'Sing this song,' and he taught them a song to sing. Then he said: 'I'll lie down. You cover me up with a robe. Continue singing, and after a while uncover me. After everybody has seen what you uncover, cover me up again. Then sing again, and after a while uncover me again.' They proceeded to do as he told them. Meanwhile news of the making of the snake by the 'short' had traveled fast, and some of the principal men of the tribe had come over to the double lodge.

"The 'tall' then lay down and his comrades covered him, sang a while and uncovered him. When they lifted the cover, there sat an elk. The 'talls' cheered loudly. Then they covered him, sang a while, and uncovered him, and he got up smiling.

"But the 'shorts' said: 'That's nothing. We too can do things like that.' So one of the 'shorts' did just as the 'tall' had done. He told his comrade to sing a certain song, cover him, sing, un-

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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cover him and so forth. This they did. When they uncovered him, there lay a human skeleton. They then covered, sang, and uncovered, and there was the 'short' himself. And all the 'shorts' cheered and shouted. 796* 789

"At this point the principal men present stepped in: 'There is danger in this kind of contest. After a while there may be a fight.' So the contest came to an end.

"The Gros Ventres talked for a long time about this contest, and they still talk about it and wonder what would have happened if the principal men had not stepped in and stopped it."

The Crazy Dancers had to be, or by age or custom were, younger men, married or unmarried, fully adult but not yet middle-aged, "mature." They chose their ceremonial grandfathers from among those who had previously been through the Dance. From one to four,—but not more than four,—dancers could choose the same ceremonial grandfather, lest they should run out of grandfathers. Only those could be grandfathers who had never had sex relations with the wives or substitute women joining the dance with the respective grandson or group of two to four grandsons, and an actual shortage of grandfathers meeting this requirement was apt to be more than a theoretic one, at least in the later days when the Dance was given. In one case, in fact, still well remembered, the prospective Crazy Dancer had to hunt all over the tribe to get his ceremonial grandfather. According to Coming Daylight a man who joined the Crazy Dance a second time had to have the same grandfather whom he had had on the first occasion. Where two to four men combined to choose the same grandfather, one of one group served as a sort of leader for it. Apparently if the age-group putting on the dance belonged to the Stars, the grandfathers and grandfathers' helpers were chosen from the Wolves, and vice versa. 608 796*

There was great reluctance on the part of older men to serve as Crazy Dance grandfathers, although, to judge from the previously quoted remarks of some of the younger men, there were probably exceptions to this rule. The reluctance shown was real, not make-believe, as the older men approached to be grandfathers might have to make embarrassing confessions and refuse, or if they accepted had to undergo a severe test of character, failure in which entailed grave penalty, as will be explained infra.

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When, consequently, a Crazy Dance was in the offing, older men who learned that they might be asked to be ritual grandfathers were very apt to run away and hide. But they could not sleep forever out on the hills, and when they came home, they would be stalked and caught by surprise, by day or night, and offered a pipe by an individual or group of two to four who intended to participate in the coming Dance. The group had secretly convened and decided on their grandfather. Finally bringing a filled pipe with them they would go to his lodge and walk in. The older man would then be practically trapped, for in accordance [576] with the general Gros Ventre pattern an offered pipe could hardly be refused. He might wilt and long hesitate, sitting with bowed head while the visitors entreated him to accept and to help them carry out their part in the Dance.

If on any occasion in the past he had had sex relations with any of these men's wives, either before or after their marriage to them, he would, when offered the pipe, be sacredly obligated to make indirect confession of the fact by refusing the pipe and saying to them (or to the individual young man, if the latter was alone), "My grandchildren, you are stillborn. I cannot serve as your grandfather," or "Go to somebody else. She is not your wife," or using some similar circumlocution. Such a reply might cause great embarrassment and worry to the young man, who perhaps had never suspected his wife.[17] Failure to confess would be "something wrong, a violation of belief or important custom" and would be followed by misfortune, even early death.

If when offered the pipe, stem first, the older man accepted it, and with it the office of grandfather, he would get up and say to the offerer: "All right, we will go outside." After they got outside the lodge the old man would say: "Now, young man, face east." The older man would stand behind him, holding the pipe stem up, and pronounce the vow, "A woman is being offered so that such-and-such a person will recover from sickness and get well. We are going to have a Crazy Dance. He [the young man]

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[171] [17] The Arapaho custom in this matter was quite similar, we were told by an Arapaho woman, the widow of a Gros Ventre, who was present while we were discussing the point.

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says this to You [Supreme Being]," and at the end would say four times, "Yo-o-o-o-o-o." Then (or perhaps before this pronouncement rite) the older man smoked the pipe. The grandfather was free to recruit an assistant, usually a younger man than himself, to help him paint the vower and the vower's wife. The several functions of the grandfather,—instructing, painting, feeding, gift-making, and especially the sex test,—will be described as we go along. 796* 608

If the chief vower or any members of the groups of two to four dancers had younger brothers of, say, about 7 to 10 years of age, these latter could be brought into the dance as "Little Crazy Boys." These young boys were painted, were present all through the rite, and served as pages or messengers. If, for instance, a grandfather did not know exactly how body painting at a particular juncture should be done, the Little Crazy Boys would be sent around to get the information. They did not, however, participate in major features of the rite, such as jumping in the fire and so forth. 796*

The making of the vow to hold the Crazy Dance and the securing of the ceremonial grandfathers were done quietly and privately. The public phase of the dance began with the formal announcement.

A crier (or criers) would go around the camp advertising the dance and talking it up, with exhortations such as: "Now you young men who are going to dance, fix up your hearts, be men, be strong, be men and join the dance, go through with it. Be men, don't be weaklings. But think it all over well before you join. This red paint is rough (said figuratively to imply: your wife is involved, you will have to give her away, to expose her to a severe test.)" As previously mentioned there was apt to be a certain resistance on the part of the younger men, to this "sales pressure," and a touch of cynicism as well.

The Crazy Dance was usually held about June when the buffalo had fattened up well, or else a little later, about August. In case the people happened to be scattered at the time, runners were sent out to bid them foregather. The chief vower or the one who accepted the challenge put up his lodge in the center of the camp circle, and this served as executive headquarters of his council and age-group until and during the dance. [361]

*796 The main rites of the Crazy Dance extended over four days and four nights, and were followed by a period of "talking backward" and other "crazy" behavior by the dancers. Dancers did not fast during the dance, as did vowers during the Sacrifice Dance, but [262] ate heartily. Large quantities of food were procured beforehand, and many puppies were killed and cooked to provide the delicacy, [784] dog meat. The dancers, however, were not allowed to swim, bathe, or "touch water" during the Dance. If any dancer did so, Bha'a would get angry and there would be a big storm. On each of the four nights of the dance, the dancers slept in the Crazy Dance lodge, but after each night they went back home in the morning to paint up.

*796 346 The Crazy Dance lodge was erected in the center of the camp circle, not far from the chief vower's tipi and executive headquarters. The "lodge" was an open roofless circular corral made of upright poles about 6 or 7 feet high stuck in the ground, with a wide opening to the south according to Coming Daylight, to the southeast according to The Boy and Thick. To the top of the poles were lashed tipi poles to make a railing. Over this railing were hung tipi covers, which lapped over on the ground inside the corral as a place on which to rest and sleep. The tipi covers needed—two, or three, or more, depending on the number of the vower's age-group who participated and hence on the size of the corral—were taken, without asking permission, by the dancers from enemy-friends belonging to the next older age-group of the dancers' own society, Stars or Wolves as the case might be.

*796 Inside the corral, at the place of honor immediately to the right of the opening, according to The Boy, or opposite the opening according to Coming Daylight, a little sort of wickiup was put up. Here, as the ceremony started, sat the chief vower and here was kept the ritual badger skin. The crier(s) (and council of four?) also were in the wickiup, according to The Boy and Thick. Very little of what went on inside the wickiup was known to our informants.

The participant dancers sat in the corral on either side, the "talls" on the west, the "shorts" on the east, with their respective ritual grandfathers and wives,—the dancers in front, the grandfathers back of them and the wives back of the grandfathers, 796* according to one statement by Coming Daylight; the grandfathers in front, and the dancers and their wives back of them according to another by her. The bows of the "talls" and "shorts" were stuck upright in the ground in two crescents in front of the two respective divisions; the bows of the ritual "elder brothers" (the four councilors?), a little apart near the south or southeast ends of these two crescents.[16]

The chief ritual paraphernalia used in the Crazy Dance were 293 the badger pelt, hoof rattles, whistles, bows, and poisoned arrows. 796* The stuffed badger hide, "trimmed and fixed up," figured prominently in the rites. The bone whistles, hung on the neck of the dancers, were blown by them when dancing. The rattles, θaθanas, sticks about five feet long, with deer hoofs attached in a row along the upper third, were used by the grandfathers who sang, sitting in a row and pounding the ends of the rattles on the ground to beat time.

Each Crazy Dancer treated one of his arrows with poisonous 796* wild parsley, and tied the poisoned arrow to his bow. If the dancer "got mad or any serious situation arose" he would unfasten the [626] arrow and shoot to kill. If the arrow penetrated the skin of the victim or even scratched him, he died. This extreme measure was very rarely resorted to. We were told of no actual instance. When the dance was over these poisoned arrows were carried away to a spot where no one could find them and were buried.

The ceremonies on each of the four days of the Crazy Dance 796* began with the painting of the bodies of the dancers and their 302 wives, the pattern of the painting differing each day. The painting was done in the respective lodges of the leaders of the groups of two to four dancers. Here they gathered with their respective ceremonial grandfathers and "Little Crazy Dancers." The dancer and his wife, or borrowed surrogate, would sit there naked, the [834 woman with legs close together and stretched out in front. This was a source of serious embarrassment to all concerned. The bodies 546]

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[16] Kroeber, 1908, p. 242, gives a different arrangement, with which still another statement by Coming Daylight that "the women sat on the west side" insofar agrees.

*796 302 of the two, even the soles of their feet, were painted all over,—in red, at least on the first day. Coming Daylight, although she herself had never joined the Crazy Dance, used to hear that the women would say: "Grandfather, I cannot paint my back. Now you paint my back." The grandfather, according to The Boy, commonly recruited a younger man than himself as helper in the painting and would direct him how to paint the various parts of the couple's bodies. At some time in this painting rite, the grandfather prayed in a short quick way with a pipe for those being painted.

*796 After the couples were painted, all proceeded to the Crazy Dance lodge or corral, the dancers whistling on the way with their bone whistles in their mouths. On arrival at the lodge, the chief vower and the 4 councilors took their places inside the smaller wickiup, or enclosure within the corral, and the rite proper began.

[824] A smudge was made,—according to The Boy, of a certain large flat or bulbous semispherical mushroom the "fuzz" of which "flies out when it is stepped on,"—a smudge song was sung (but The Boy did not remember the melody), and a solemn prayer was said.

After the prayer came the "feeding" of the badger. Someone would suggest: "Sing the feeding song, so the badger can eat." Then someone would take the badger skin and walk with it clockwise around the lodge, inside between the bows and the outer wall. He walked very very slowly, barely moving, and while he did so song No. 59 was sung. He made the complete circuit four times, and the song was sung once at each circuit. If at any time he were not holding pelt down low enough to the ground, he would be told in backward talk (see infra): "Raise him up!" When at the end of the fourth round he reached the wickiup, he would lay the pelt down. Then song No. 60 was sung, four times in succession, and at the end of each singing the pelt was given a hard blow with a stick by "the old man" (the chief vower's grandfather?). All this singing and striking was done seriously and reverently, without levity. The Boy had asked his father, Lame Bull, the meaning of the blows, but the latter had answered: "I do not know." The two above songs, both wordless, were sung without accompaniment of rattle or drum. The drum note in song No. 60 was introduced by The Boy in his recording merely to represent

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the blow struck on the badger. Both songs were sung by The Boy for the recordings. Apparently at other times during the Crazy Dance rites,—about 10:00 a.m., 2:00 p.m. and 5:00 p.m. according to Coming Daylight,—the badger skin was given a blow, but clear details were not obtained by us. 796*

Between whiles during the Crazy Dance, when no specific ceremony or observance was going on, there was very lively good-time dancing, the dancers "jumping up and down" to the accompaniment of the above-mentioned deer-hoof rattlers. One such song, No. 61, was recorded as sung by The Boy, it has just one word in it: meaning: "I poured water all over him." The song is supposed to have been composed by the enemy-friend of some Crazy Dancer and sung about him. The reference in the case is to the prohibition against bathing and "touching water" by Crazy Dancers.

What rites, if any, were peculiar to the second day of the Crazy Dance we did not discover. The third day, according to The Boy and Thick, was the day on which payment of horses, robes, clothes and so forth, "the best of everything" was made and in generous quantity, to the grandfathers. The goods would be piled up and the horses picketed nearby, for all to see. Participants who "brought no presents then were looked down upon as no good." Singer mentioned only the presents given to the grandfathers, but The Boy and Thick stated that the grandfathers on their part also gave "presents" to the Crazy Dancers and that the transaction was "really a trade." In accord with the general Gros Ventre pattern of trade and gambling as well as of remuneration for ritual services rendered, payment to the grandfathers was expected to be made on the spot and in full; promises to pay at some future time and payment by installment were barred. 431 796*

Before we take up the rites and observances peculiar to the fourth and last day of the Crazy Dance, it seems advisable to cover certain ones whose exact place in the ceremonial sequence we are unable to determine from our field evidence. These are: the ceremonial feeding of the dancers, the giving of presents in honor of the dancers, the sweat-lodge rite, talking backward, and the sex-test. 796*

There was no fasting during the Crazy Dance; on the contrary

*796 all ate plenty. Both the dancers and the grandfathers, and the latters' helpers, brought food. When the grandfathers brought food each would say to his respective grandson or team of two to four grandsons: "All right, my grandson(s), here is your milk." The grandsons or one of them would then get up, give the exclamation of thanks (according to Coming Daylight), and would kiss the "grandfather" and would "nurse."

In the course of the Crazy Dance, as at most other social and ritual large gatherings, it was customary for relatives of the dancers to give away presents in their honor, not to the dancers themselves, but to third parties.[19]

According to The Boy, a sweat-lodge rite was held in connection with the Crazy Dance, but we obtained no details. Presumably it followed the general pattern of the rite as carried out for the sacred Pipes.

*796 145 "Talking backward" was characteristic of the dancers' behavior during the day or days immediately following the four day rite, but also, according to our informants, during the four-day rite itself. If the dancer said "Hit me real hard," he would be barely touched; if he said, "Don't hit me hard," he would be hit very hard. "Go away" meant "Come here"; and vice versa. An answer "yes" meant "no." "Raise it up," meant "Lo[illegible] down." "All right," a dancer would say "you fellows will [illegible]"; then he would sing and they would dance.

*796 837 The sex-test calls for more extensive explanation. It was a major, in a sense the major, feature of the Crazy Dance, the "sacrifice" about which the dance centered. The dancers were in a sense "throwing away," offering as a quasi-sacrifice, their wives or substitute women. In the sacred Pipe rites, the costly offerings were in material things, sacrifices in the strict sense of the term, in the Sacrifice Dance, the main offerings were the physical sufferings of the participants, "sacrifices" in an extended sense of the term; in the Crazy Dance, the "sacrifice" consisted more in the mental suffering of the dancers who submitted their wives or substitute women to a severe sex-test, a test which at best brought acute anxiety and embarrassment to all concerned. From the content,—the announcement and other prayers,—it seems fairly clear that the "sacrifice" by the Crazy Dance chief vower and his associates was offered to the Supreme Being.

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[19] For example, see Flannery, 1953, p. 108.

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Just on what night or nights in the rite the test or tests took place was a point we did not clear up. Information regarding the form of this test was not revealed by elders to children, and actual happenings when given grandfathers and granddaughters were alone were commonly kept more or less secret by the two parties concerned, though the facts might leak out and founded or unfounded rumors were apparently often topics of gossip. The test itself took the following form.

Late at night the crier would go around the camp and bid all the people to go inside and shut their lodges and stay in, and not even stick their heads out because the grandfathers were going to come out. Anybody who disobeyed this order would be chased, caught, made to dance, kicked, and apparently hit with cactus-armed sticks. When all was quiet and all the people were indoors, the ceremonial grandfathers would go out beyond the camp circle, halting four times on the way, and would sit down in the dark scattered here and there, each a distance from the others. The men dancers stayed in camp, in the Crazy Dance lodge, and "sang brave songs" until their wives returned. Their wives or substitute women,—whether one for each individual dancer or successively one for each team of two to four is not clear—then went out to the grandfathers, one woman to each respective grandfather. The women were naked, except for a blanket or robe covering their bodies and leaving only their heads sticking out. Each carried with her a filled common pipe.

If at the last moment a dancer would not allow his wife to go out and meet his and her grandfather, or if she failed to do so, or if after going out she did not submit to the body-to-body test, the fact would be published and tongues would wag, and there might be other consequences. On one occasion, the story runs, among the women going out to the grandfathers was a pretty one who had a lover. The lover intercepted her on her way out, took her home, and eloped with her. He died soon after, his body having just shriveled and wasted away. On another occasion, a certain woman,

*796 a noted singer well known to Coming Daylight, appears to have declined to submit, after she had gone out, to the body-to-body
837 test, or at least to have resisted advances. On the way out she was heard to say: "Oh, I won't have this old man just for this little root [see infra]. If I wanted to own some medicine I could go and dig it out of the ground."

Each woman, when she had located her particular grandfather in the dark, would say: "Here, my grandfather, is a pipe." The grandfather would act as if hesitating to accept. He would not accept it right away. After he finally had accepted it, he would rub his palms on the ground and rub the pipe itself, "sort of cleansing it." Then he would pray with the pipe to the Supreme Being, for the woman, after which he smoked it alone. Then he rubbed his hands again on the ground and "felt (rubbed?) her all over, and cleansed her body."

After this she would lie down on the ground, supine and naked, and the "grandfather," likewise naked, would lie on her. In this position the ritual grandfather who had been chewing the powdered blackish medicine or sacred root, of a plant (unidentifiable by us) growing in the Rocky Mountains and not found in Gros Ventre territory proper, touched his lips to hers, and passed the chewed root from his mouth to hers. All this, as Coming Daylight put it, was considered "something holy" and "no sin whatever." Either the act or the root or both—we did not clear up this point—was supposed to impart what she called "life everlasting" (she probably meant "long life") to the woman. This root was chewed by the Crazy Dancers.

The ritual code which prescribed this body-to-body ceremony for the wife and her ceremonial grandfather, at the same time rigidly prescribed sexual intercourse between them. By code, the
[786] ceremony was not ritual license but on the contrary a test, one set for the husband, the wife, and the ritual grandfather. "The husband," as The Boy put it, "was sending his wife to his ceremonial grandfather and giving her to him. It was figurative. It was giving but it [intercourse] was not supposed to happen but if it did, well it just did." As Mathilda Cuts-the-rope expressed it, "the test was for the husband to allow his wife to go out with the grandfather.

The husband would have to be a man of strong heart." The husband would be gravely anxious, and in a sense deeply embarrassed and humiliated, but could not show temper or "get mad"; "he would however have gotten mad," said Coming Daylight, "if his wife actually had had intercourse with the grandfather." 796* 837

The character test of the wife and grandfather was equally severe or even more so, but was, as is obvious, of a different nature. "These women [the wives or substitutes]," The Boy commented, "were usually young women, just enjoying life to the fullest measure. They were of that age, and to make the test more severe their husbands kept away from them before it so that the temptation would be greater, more intense. And the 'grandfathers' were not harmless old men." Apropos of this test, The Boy remarked: "It was known by the Gros Ventres that the female sex is the weaker one, but in such matters it is the stronger one . . . of old the Gros Ventres held this [sex] a great weakness of mankind."

Penalties for failure in the sex-test were either supernatural or social or both. One ritual grandfather, who on one occasion could not stand the test and who had intercourse with his granddaughter, was found dead in his bed before four nights had passed. If the couple succumbed, the fact was very apt to become known. "The woman," said The Boy, "would sometimes tell, or else the couple would give themselves away afterwards by their actions. . . . They would naturally brood over it [their failure]. . . . It would prey on their minds and they would blunder and make mistakes, and it would drive them downward, afraid to join in social life. People would begin to comment: 'What is the matter with these two?' The Gros Ventres were very inquisitive and would want to know what was the matter. The couple would be driven to make a confession and get it over with. Or something would happen anyway to confirm the suspicion that people had of them. . . . Even if the two were lovers, it would have been hard to do this [fail in the ritual] test and yet keep it quiet." [684]

There was, as would under the circumstances be suspected, appreciable differences of attitude toward this feature of the Crazy Dance on the part of husbands, wives and grandfathers. Some husbands, as we have seen, would not, for jealousy or for fear of

*796 837 sexual mishap, join the Dance at all or permit their wives to join, even though such refusal was apt to entail a certain loss of face or status, to subject those who refused to the charge of being over-jealous weaklings, of not having "strong hearts," of not being able to take it. Most at least, perhaps all, who joined, suffered grave anxiety or humiliation or both. Some of the wives and ritual grandfathers, probably the majority, were, it is clear, very reluctant to submit themselves to the test, for fear of the penalties for failure, and, so far at least as these wives were concerned, for dislike of the anxiety, embarrassment and humiliation involved. Some other wives and grandfathers, probably a majority, were, it seems equally clear, quite the reverse of reluctant.

A certain air of secrecy surrounded this whole matter of the sex-test, and actual occurrences connected with it and, when the test and occurrences were talked about, they were commonly discussed in hushed tones. It was consequently very difficult for us to discover what proportion of failures occurred. The Boy seemed to think that failures were somewhat less frequent than did Coming Daylight and Singer, but all agreed that some failures did occur. Many stories and rumors ran the round of gossip. A younger, middle-aged informant, Cora Chandler, used to hear these stories. One of them, heard by Coming Daylight and told us, was that one couple said: "Let's lie here longer. There is nothing to worry about." "Some of the women," she stated, "liked it all right, but some of them didn't. . . . Some returned (from their grandfathers to their husbands) quickly and others would take a long time."

*796 842 After the test the ceremonial grandfathers and the women would get up and the latter would go back to their husbands in the Crazy Dance lodge. The attendants on watch at the door thereof would announce their arrival. Each husband would go to meet his wife who would give him back the pipe that she had taken with her and would give him the root (or some of it) that she had gotten from her grandfather. Then she went home to her lodge.

The purpose for which the root was used was not known to The Boy. To judge from a short dialogue recorded from Coming Daylight, it may have had something to do with fertility, childbearing, or child begetting. She had said to her husband on one occasion: "If I had joined it [the Crazy Dance] and had been given it [this root], I would use it." To this her husband replied: "You should not talk that way. You already have children. You should pray to the Supreme Being." In this connection it may be recalled that some once wanted Singer to join the Crazy Dance in order that her husband's other wife, pregnant at the time, would have a safe delivery. The root may also have been a medium through or by which long life was imparted to the woman. 796* 842

The chief events of the fourth and last day of the Crazy Dance proper were, after the preliminary body painting, the fire dance and the bow rites. 796*

According to The Boy and Thick, on this last day in their respective lodges the Crazy Dancers were painted up to represent owls,—why, we could not discover. Their bodies were painted yellow all over, to the elbows and knees; the forearms, and the legs from the knees down, solid black. On the chest was painted an owl, with wings spread, the wings represented by black strips extending along the arms. The dancers' left ears were daubed and plugged with white clay (and apparently a mushroom), so that hearing was blocked on that side. From the left side of the head-band there hung an owl head (not a skull) over the left ear. 796* 302

In preparation for the fire dance, the ritual grandfathers treated the soles of the dancers' feet, according to The Boy and Thick,—their whole bodies, according to Coming Daylight,—with medicine. The dancers also, Coming Daylight implied, chewed this root during the fire dance. 796*

A prominent warrior "chief," from an age-group other than the one giving the dance, was then asked to make shavings out of a lodge pole for the fire. He would tell four of his outstanding war-deeds, and at each would make a motion as if starting to cut the shavings. After the fourth deed was told, he actually began making the shavings, continuing until he judged he had a pile big enough for the fire. Then he would light them. The fire was made in the middle of the Crazy Dance corral or lodge.

After the fire was started, there were four songs and four dances. One of these four, or else a song sung to the accompaniment

*796 of the deer-hoof rattles as the dancers jumped in the fire, was recorded, number 62, as sung by The Boy. It contains just one word meaning: "I wonder what makes me so crazy" (i.e., so crazy that I will jump in the fire). After the singing of the four songs, when the fire was blazing well, the Crazy Dancers said "Ya" and leaped barefooted into the fire and trampled it out with their bare feet. No case is on record of a dancer's feet being burned. As noted previously, the dancers in some way represented millers (moths).

It was a common custom for enemy-friends, male or female, of the dancers to rope them just as the latter were about to jump in the blazing fire and to release them only after the fire had died down or been stamped out. On release, the dancers would step only in the coals or ashes. Coming Daylight had so held back an enemy-friend on one occasion. Some women were quite strong enough to so hold men dancers back. At other times the men would [522] break loose from the women. All this was done as a practical joke on the enemy-friend. Sometimes a wife would so hold back or try to hold back her husband, with a rawhide rope tied to his belt, apparently out of fear for his safety.

After the fire dance came a series of rites or observances which we are calling the bow rites, as the bow enters prominently into them. They consist of a dance, a race, bow-tightening, arrow-shooting, and moccasin plundering.

796 526 Before the dance began the Crazy Dancers selected two prominent men from another age-group than their own to act as referees for the race that followed the Dance. These two, one for the "talls" and one for the "shorts," took their places on either side of the dance lodge door. Then the grandfathers took the bows of their respective grandsons and, to the accompaniment of the deer-hoof rattles, sang four times a wordless song, number 63,—sung by The Boy and recorded by us. The dancers did not join in the singing as they had their whistles in their mouths. During the singing, the Crazy Dancers, in a mass, "talls" and "shorts" mingled, but with each team of two to four led by its grandfather carrying its bows, moved clockwise in a sort of dancing walk around the inside of the dance lodge, beginning at the left of the entrance. The singing and dancing were so synchronized that the mass of dancers would reach the right entrance at the ending of the fourth singing. On arrival there, the dancers said "Ya" and grabbed their bows from the hands of their grandfathers and started their race. 796 526

They ran pell-mell toward a mound far outside the camp circle, rounded the mound clockwise, raced back to the dance lodge. All the dancers, "talls" and "shorts," had to take part in the race. Their grandfathers did not accompany them, but the two old men criers, of the "talls" and "shorts" respectively, ran along with them.

Each of the "talls" and "shorts" on reaching the dance lodge gave his bow to the respective referee at one entrance. The losing side, "talls" or "shorts," had to give a smoke to the winners.

While the dancers were racing, the two old criers were having a race of their own, a race which provided "lots of fun" for the spectators. Along the way the boys would in fun pick up buffalo chips and throw them at the two old men. At one Crazy Dance, the two racing criers were The Boy's father, Lame Bull, and another old man, both crippled. The latter was outdistancing Lame Bull, but the boys bothered him so much that he left off the race to chase them, while Lame Bull kept going and came in the winner. The other old man accused Lame Bull of framing him. According to Turn Toes, the four "elder brothers" or councilors were the ones who raced and were pelted with buffalo chips, but we did not have opportunity to discuss the point in detail with him.

After the race and the subsequent smoke to the winners, came the bow-tightening rite, for which some poor old man was chosen. The referees re-distributed the bows to the dancers. The dancers then each put on their best moccasins and an old robe with a hole in the middle to be worn like a poncho, the old robe being "in imitation of millers."[30] The old man would get ready well away from camp, lying face down on the ground with his head covered with a robe. Each dancer would tighten his bowstring, bracing 796*

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[30] In 1948 The Boy stated that this robe made from discarded lodge covers hung down the back, with only enough in front to hold it on. It was painted red at the four corners and at the neck; owl "pelts" were attached between the shoulders, the large feathers having been removed, and hung down the back. When the garment was worn it looked as though the dancer's shoulders were painted. [R.F.]

*796 the bow on the old man's back, and would push in under the old man's robe moccasins or other goods, as presents or payment. "The old man's back," Coming Daylight remarked, "would get higher and higher and he would go home with a pack [of these presents] on his back."

After this, each of the dancers moved away from where the old man had been lying, mounted an arrow, and danced four times. At each of the four dances, they motioned as if to shoot the arrow. At the end of the fourth song, they said "Ya," and released their arrows. The boys then grabbed the arrows; whoever grabbed one could keep it as his own.

Then the dancers started running back to camp, with men, women and children chasing them. Any pursuer who succeeded in grabbing a dancer—and throwing him down, according to Coming Daylight—would take the moccasins of the latter, who would submit without struggle. On one occasion Coming Daylight chased a dancer who was "kind of queer" but who "could run like an antelope." He made for a high hill, calling back at her repeatedly: "Why don't you make your own moccasins if you want them?" She could not overtake him.

This moccasin-plundering apparently marked the end of the Crazy Dance rite proper. After it the dancers would mingle barefooted with the people throughout the camp and "talk backward," and the whole camp would move, if only a little way off.

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522 But for some time after the end of the rites proper,[21] the dancers would go around giving orders in "backward talk" to any one they met to dance or sing, chasing and "shooting" members of other age-groups as "imaginary enemies," and indulging in other forms of horseplay. If any victim was commanded "I suggest that you don't dance," he would have to dance. If told, "Don't sing," he would have to sing four times any Crazy Dance song he remembered. If the victim said, "Don't kick me hard," he would be kicked hard, and vice versa. The "imaginary enemies," especially enemy-friends and members (and their wives) of the opposite society, Stars or Wolves as the case might be, were shot with arrows the ends of which had been chewed to blunt them, as there

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[21] Four days, according to Kroeber, 1908, p. 247.

was no intention to really hurt the "enemies." Dogs, too, would be shot at. The poisoned arrow was of course never used in such good-natured shooting. The horseplay could, however, at times be pretty rough. On one occasion, a Crazy Dancer put his foot on the chest of an old man returning from berry-picking in the mountains, and pushed him over the edge of a cutbank. The old man fell over and also spilled all his berries. The Crazy Dancer was avenging the old man's inordinate boasting against "imaginary enemies" in an earlier Dance in which the latter had been a crier. On another occasion, when Coming Daylight's husband, Deafie, was coming back from hunting with deer meat piled on his horse, Crazy Dancers chased him clear to his lodge, although he had been their ritual grandfather. Coming Daylight at risk of being herself "shot" by them, went out of the lodge and upbraided them roundly, throwing in to boot a coarse remark, and making an insulting noise. They went off without "shooting" her but with the parting remark: "My, we have a crazy grandmother!" 796* 522

DRUM DANCE

This Sacred Dance got its name bie :təhao'wə, "drum lodge" (cf. Sifton, "drum," biitáhê) from the single very big drum used in it. The members of the dance or lodge were called Drum Lodge men. 796*

The Dance died out very early, either shortly before Lame Bull's birth in 1824, or too soon thereafter for him to have witnessed it. Our information on it, derived mostly from The Boy, with stray bits from Coming Daylight, and Singer, is extremely fragmentary. The Boy had learned the origin story, four of the songs, and a few ritual details from Lame Bull. The latter knew a married couple who had taken part in the dance; the wife used to show a crooked stick that had been used in it. Coming Daylight had been told a little about it by one of her very aged "mothers"; Singer, by her husband, Iron Bucket. Neither of the two old women liked to talk about it as, they thought, they did not know enough about it to do so. Some features of the rite, in addition to those explicitly mentioned by our informants, may be reasonably inferred from parts of two stories narrated by The Boy.

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One of these, the origin story of the Drum Dance, was told by him as follows:

"A long time ago the Gros Ventres (or a party of Gros Ventres) made a long journey toward the Black Hills (in South Dakota). One of the Gros Ventre men became separated from his friends, and could not find his way back to them, and so got lost on an endless plain somewhere northwest of the Black Hills. He must have had no weapons with him, for in his wanderings he had nothing to eat and was near starving to death. So he made up his mind to seek a place where he could lie down and die.

"So he came to the bed of an old dry lake and said: 'Here I will die.' He decided to die crying. So he walked around the lake bed crying. He spent four nights there. The morning after the fourth night he was still crying but was very weak. Every once in a while he lay down. On one such rest, he fell into a light slumber, not a deep sleep, and heard a crier under the lake bed announcing: 'W-e-e-e-e. What is the matter with you drum men who belong to the Drum Dance? When are you going to pity that poor man up there? Come here together.'

"Then the sleeping man heard drumming and singing. The drumming and singing seemed to be coming in his direction and when it got to where he was lying a voice said to him: 'Get up and look at the drum men.' Then he sat up. It was broad daylight and as he looked toward the direction whence the voice and drumming and singing had come, he saw two lances (or sticks), curved (crooked) around on the upper end (like a shepherd's crook), come up from the ground of the dry lake bed. Three times they came up and after each time disappeared in the ground. The fourth time they came up, there were two men carrying them. A crowd of men, walking two by two, streamed out after the two lance carriers, and two other lance bearers brought up the rear end of the line. They all marched in this formation round the dry lake bed once, clockwise, and then stopped. The one who seemed to be leader of the group then spoke to the starving man: 'Take a good look at me and us. We have pitied you. You are going to be saved and to get back home. Also we will transfer to you our drum, our lodge (dance), our power.'

"The Gros Ventre man looked around and he saw that the two crooked sticks carried at the front of the line were wrapped around with otter skin, around which skin were tied four pieces of white rabbit skin, and at each place two eagle feathers were hanging. The sticks carried by the two rear carriers were wrapped with rabbit skin, with four pieces of otter skin tied around, and with two eagle feathers at each place where the otter skin was tied. 773 539

"Then the group started to sing and dance and to go round in a circle. This they did four times, with a rest after each circling. Then said the leader to the Gros Ventre man: 'I have told you that we have pitied you. Now I will show you the rite that belongs to our dance. You will be saved and will get home. This dance of ours can be called upon (that is, vowed) in times of great emergency, especially in times of great fear. We give you the whole thing. When you get home you can make known what you have seen and heard here. Tell the people that when they are in fear, they can call on us, on our dance, and we will help them. Besides giving you our dance, I am giving you my horses so you can get home quickly. Soon after you get home you must put up this lodge.'

"Then they danced and they taught him the rite. The leader then said to him: 'Wait here. I will go back after the horses I promised you.' Then he and the others of his group disappeared under the ground. Pretty soon the leader reappeared coming up at the same spot where he had gone under. This time he was alone, leading a big black stallion. He brought the horse to the Gros Ventre and said: 'Here is your horse. You can ride him, or else sometimes lead him. You will get home quickly and safely. This stallion has many colts. They will follow him. Do not abuse the stallion or any of his colts.[22] Ride them. You can go now.'

"So the Gros Ventre took the horse and mounted it and rode off. As he looked back he saw a big herd of horses following him. It was not long, only a few nights, before he got home, bringing the big herd of horses with him. To each Gros Ventre of the whole tribe he gave a horse. After he had rested up he did what he had

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[22] That horses should never be abused or badly treated was part of the general code.

773 539 been told to do and put up the Drum Dance. Thus was the Drum Dance introduced among the Gros Ventres into their sacred dance system."

When Lame Bull told The Boy this story, the latter asked him: "Who was it who gave this dance and these horses?" And his [825] father answered: "The killdeer." So the Drum Dance is owned by the killdeer (*Oxyechus vociferus*).

*796 The Drum Dance ranked high in dignity among the Sacred dances. Lame Bull ranked it next after the Sacrifice Dance, and first in importance in the Drum-Dog-Kitfox-Crazy group, because, he told The Boy, the Drum Dance was "most difficult and complicated to carry out," and through it "more horses had come to the Gros Ventre tribe."

[821] The Drum Dance was held only in fulfillment of a vow. The rite lasted the customary four days and nights, with a big feast each day. The Boy was uncertain whether a sweat-lodge ceremony was held during the Drum Dance.

[778] The chief sacred objects used in the Drum Dance were, so far as we could learn, the very large drum, and the fur-wrapped crooked sticks which were carried by the dancers and which to judge from the origin story were four in number and were decorated as therein described. The dancers themselves were [302] painted yellow all over their bodies, with black dots, representing hail, from the waist up.

*796 533 Four of the Drum Dance songs, numbers 52-55, were recorded, as sung by The Boy, who had learned them from his father, Lame Bull. There were others which The Boy did not remember, nor did he know the ritual order in which they were sung.

Two of these four songs, numbers 52 and 53, are wordless, and were sung at good-time dances during the Drum Dance. Number 53 is the song that was sung by the men marching out of the dry lake-bed when the Drum Dance was first given to the starving Gros Ventre man by the killdeer. These dancing songs were lively ones, sung to fast time.

Song number 54 is difficult to translate as the meaning of two of one of the words was unknown. The Boy ventured the conjecture that the whole wording might possibly mean: "There are so many other people (besides the Drum Dance men) whom I am carrying that I don't care about the rest of them." He recalled in this connection a Gros Ventre children's game in which they split into two groups and one child from one group goes over to the other group and carries the members thereof one by one to his side. At any rate, this was the first song sung by the Drum Dance men at the first stop they made when going to fight the Piegan (in the story to be given presently). 796* 533

The words of song number 55 refer to the place of the future life where the lodge of the Drum Dance men is all ready to receive them if they die in the battle. They were supposed to be ready to sacrifice their lives, feeling they would go to the Big Sand where they would be better off than here. As these words were sung, the men would point with their thumbs toward where the Big Sand was located, in the north, and would face in that direction. In the sign language pointing is done only with the index finger. Pointing in this special way, with the thumb, was done to signify that the men so pointing were doing a brave thing, were courageous and not chicken-hearted, and were ready for the worst. Some further light upon the meaning and context of this song, as well as upon certain other aspects of the Drum Dance, is shed by the following story narrated by The Boy, and confirmed in part by a less detailed version of it by Coming Daylight who added somewhat cryptically that "these (Drum Dance) men never stood back [retreated?], they always made an attack on the enemy." Singer also stated, likewise rather cryptically, "Iron Bucket [her husband] told me they (the Drum Dancers) would go away off on a war path and stay four days and spy on their own camp and go back to war." The Boy's story was as follows:

"On one occasion during a Drum Dance which had been put on in fulfillment of a vow, a group of Gros Ventre men went out to hunt buffalo. While they were out they were attacked by some Piegan. The Piegan were on foot, while the Gros Ventres were on horseback, so it was easy for the latter to get away. It occurred to the Gros Ventres that they might play a trick on the Piegan and make a lot of sport for the occasion of the Drum Dance. So they detailed one of their number to go back and notify their camp 726 796*

726 that some Piegan were where they (the Gros Ventre hunters) *796 were. This one went and did as directed.

"The Drum Dancers decided to take the matter into their own hands, as during the Drum Dance their word was law. They sent the crier around camp to notify the people that they, the Drum Dancers, were taking over the situation, and that everybody else should step aside and let them handle it.

"All the Gros Ventres then struck out from camp, with the Drum Dancers in the lead. When the crowd reached the place where the Gros Ventre hunters were holding the Piegan at bay, it stopped, and the Drum men said: 'Let us do the fighting. The others will just look on at us.' And so it was agreed.

"The Drum Dance men then all got in formation, just as the underground people (killdeer) had been at the dry lake bed, with two men in front carrying the crooked sticks, the others in line two by two, and two likewise at the rear carrying crooked sticks.

"The Piegan started to make trenches. The Drum Dancers marched in formation toward the Piegan, then halted, and sang a certain song [No. 54] three times and danced. The Piegan came out of their trenches to see this unusual thing that was going on. They thought that perhaps the Gros Ventres wanted to make peace, and stood there watching the show, not knowing it was the killdeer (Drum Dancers). The Drum Dancers next marched toward the Piegan a second time, halted as before, sang a second song four times and danced. All this they did a third time, singing a third song four times.

"After marching forward a fourth time, which brought them very close to the Piegan, they halted and sang a fourth song four times (song No. 55), but did not dance. Instead of dancing, while they sang they faced toward basnable (the place of the dead), stretched their right arms out to the limit[33] to show that they meant unreservedly what they were doing, and held their right hands up with four fingers clenched and with thumbs up (or pointing toward basnabe). The leader of the Drum Dancers had meanwhile told them: 'When you finish the fourth singing of this fourth song, charge!'

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[33] If they had not stretched their arms out *to the limit* and *fully*, this would have meant that they were not *fully* meaning to carry through.

"As soon as they had so finished the fourth singing, one of the 726
two forward crooked-lance carriers threw his lance into the Piegan 796*
trench and followed in after it, and the Piegan slashed him to pieces. Next the drummer, who had been carrying the drum slung over his right shoulder, threw the drum into the Piegan trench, followed in after it, and was likewise slashed to pieces. Then all the other Drum Dancers followed the two into the trench. All the Piegan were killed, while the Gros Ventres lost only two men, a lance-carrier and the drummer."

Coming Daylight's account of this battle, less detailed and considerably generalized, enables us to date it as somewhere around the early nineteenth century. She was told it by one of her "old, old 'mothers'" whose husband had taken part in it. This "mother's" husband had joined the Drum Dance and she had to go along with him. The dancers would go way off and look for the enemy. If they spied him and were themselves unseen, they would go back to their camp, get their drum and return to where the enemy was. They would creep up on the enemy and when close enough to prevent escape would beat the drum and rush to the attack. The drummers (Coming Daylight used the plural, though mentioning only the one drum) in the battle with the Piegan dismounted from their horses, marched drumming toward the enemy, and jumped down into where they were. Some of the dancers who had guns marched with them and also jumped down among the Piegan enemy. Others attacked on horseback. It seems to have been the code of the Drum Dancers, never to "stand back" [retreat?] but always to attack.

KIT-FOX DANCE

This dance was called no:hao'wə, "Kit-fox lodge" (cf. Sifton, 796*
nóuhê, "fox, smaller kind").

We were able to gather only scattered data on this dance, which partly corroborated, partly added to, Kroeber's description.[24] Our data came from: The Boy,—whose father, Lame Bull, had gone through the dance,—Thick, Turn Toes, Coming Daylight,—whose

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[24] Kroeber, 1908, pp. 250-51.

+796 uncle, Crow Bull, had joined it,—and Singer. According to Turn Toes the dance was probably last performed when he (born about 1860) was a little boy, too young to take part in it.

The following is the Kit-fox Dance origin story as told by The
773 Boy:

539 "Long ago a Gros Ventre man was hunting kit-foxes to get their pelts for use as clothing. He sighted a kit-fox but before he could kill it it ran into its hole. The man made up his mind to nevertheless get the kit-fox. So he gathered sage and other brush and made a smudge. When the brush was smoking well, he shoved it into the kit-fox's hole and closed up the hole, in order to smoke out the kit-fox.

"Then waiting around he lay down and dozed, and while he dozed he heard singing under the ground. When the singing stopped, he woke up, and heard the kit-fox grunting. So he opened up the hole. At this the kit-fox came out, sat down at the opening of the hole, facing the Gros Ventre, and said to him: 'I am glad you have spared my children and me. You were just about to kill all of us. I am glad you pitied us. So in turn I will pity you. I will give you my lodge and you can have it ever after this. If you or anyone in the tribe is sick, make a vow to put up my lodge, and you or the other sick person will get well.'

"Then the kit-fox sang a song, one different from the song the man had heard when he was dozing. When the kit-fox had finished singing this second song it said to the Gros Ventre: 'Look at me. See how I am painted. In my lodge (dance) paint yourself the same way. When you put up this lodge, use my body.' Then the kit-fox told the man how to dress and paint in the dance and what songs to sing, and taught him all these songs. Then 'Go back,' said the kit-fox, 'to your tribe and put up this lodge. I give you this right, so you may introduce this dance into your tribe. In order to put up my lodge, a vow must first be made. But I give you the right to put up the first one, and then you can tell the story!'

"Then after the kit-fox had fully instructed the man, he did not kill that particular kit-fox but let it go and he himself went back to camp. When he got back home he told what had happened and started to get ready for the dance, gathering clothes and other things together, and making ready a kit-fox skin stuffed to look like a live kit-fox. This last was used in the dance. The Gros Ventre made a great impression on his tribe and his dance was accepted and recognized as a Sacred Dance, and a vow was made to perform it." 773 539

The Kit-fox Dance was held, like the other dances, in the summer time,—about August, so Charles Buckman thought,—and everyone was obliged to be on hand for it. Preliminaries might however begin far back in the preceding winter, particularly the painting and taking out of the joiner's wives by the ritual grandfathers. This latter preliminary phase of the dance seems, from Coming Daylight's report (infra), to have been very similar to a corresponding phase of the Crazy Dance, but we were able to secure only the following, rather vague, account of it as described by Coming Daylight: 796*

"In the Kit-fox Dance the wives had to go out with their 'grandfathers' just as in the Crazy Dance. My uncle, Crow Bull, once joined it with his Assiniboine wife, Coming Day, and it took a long time. The 'grandfathers' used to take extra long [in preparation for] for this dance and, if the [preparatory] time was winter, they made nice places, brushing the snow away, where they would lie down with their ceremonial grandfathers. The 'granddaughters' would go to their 'grandfathers' ' lodges and then the 'grandfathers' would take them out, and the 'grandsons' would be painted. The 'grandsons' would have so to go for a long time, from winter to spring, to their 'grandfathers,' before actually joining the dance. So Crow Bull would go with his wife to his 'grandfather's' lodge to get instructions and each time he would be painted and the 'grandfather' would take Crow Bull's wife out and brush away the snow and lie with her." 796* 837

Besides the stuffed kit-fox skin mentioned in the origin story above, the Kit-fox Dance paraphernalia included two crooked sticks, used when dancing. These were shaped like a shepherd's crook or hockey stick, with strips of little otter skin carefully wrapped around them "all the way down" and with eagle-tail feathers tied to them here and there. The wrapping had to be done in a certain way, and only by a brave warrior. These sticks 796* 778

*796 778 were owned only by fearless great "chiefs." At one time, Bushy Head owned one, and Singer's husband, Iron Bucket, another. A third man would own the Kit-fox Dance rattle. Buffalo Run (or Chase) was one such rattle owner.

*796 In addition to these owners of the two sticks and the rattle, numbers of other men would join the Kit-fox Dance, but according to Singer, "only chiefs." The male joiners chose a little girl "as a little kit-fox" to dance with them. She had to be a biθa:sθa, a "dearly-loved" child,[28] and to be so chosen was looked upon as a great honor. The "little kit-fox" danced a *pas seul* in the rite. Her father would be there with her, in the background, just as a mother would be present for her son in the Fly Dance. As "dearly-loved" children, especially female, were not numerous, it was difficult for Kit-fox Dancers to obtain one for their ceremony. Coming Daylight's father had intended to offer her to dance therein, but he died while she was still a small child. She recalled seeing a girl, whom she knew, dance at one Kit-fox rite, and seeing "the girl's father dance for her in the back of the lodge."

We recorded two of the Kit-fox Dance songs, numbers 56 and 57, as sung by The Boy. The first of these two, a wordless one, was the one the kit-fox sang while the Gros Ventre of the origin story slumbered. The second also was wordless, as originally sung by the kit-fox when giving this man the dance, but the following words, later added to it, have a double reference: to kit-foxes who run into their burrows when they see human beings, and to the following traditional incident:

"Some time after the Kit-fox Dance had become known to the Gros Ventres, a young man, Little Weasel, vowed to hold it. In it he used the stuffed kit-fox. After the dance was over, a war party started out. Little Weasel went along, bringing the stuffed kit-fox with him. The party encountered a big party of Crow (or Sioux). The enemy attacked and made the Gros Ventres run. Then Little Weasel who was packing the stuffed kit-fox set it down, making a sort of mound, and walked around it singing this song (No. 57) and adding the somewhat ironic and poetic words, 'Run your best. You will (not) get into your lodge(s).' He himself was practically committing suicide, so in one sense he meant himself. But in another, he meant that the case of the others, or many of them, was hopeless. He was telling them that if they did not run they would not escape home, but that even if they did run he was doubtful if they would make home safely. They saw and heard him, and a few escaped and survived, but many, including Little Weasel himself, were killed. When the survivors got back to camp they told what had happened. 796*

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[28] Flannery, 1941, pp. 33-37.

"Little Weasel, himself unmarried, had been engaged at the time in a love affair with a certain young married woman, the most beautiful in the tribe, and her husband knew about it. After the survivors returned, her husband said to her: 'I knew all about your affair with that young man but I did not scold or punish you. Now you should do what I tell you. You can mourn and cry for your lover, but do not do anything else. Think of our little boy (then four years old).' After saying this, he left their lodge to go hear details of the news of the battle.

"After he had left, his wife put on her best clothes, and combed her hair, and fixed herself up. Then taking with her a stout tough rope of sinew she went to the brow of a cliff where two trees stood, one leaning over the brink. She fastened one end of the rope around her neck and tied the other end to the leaning tree. Then she sang the same song her lover had sung around the mound, and with the same words. After finishing the song, she rattled her tongue and yelled as a woman used to do when celebrating the first coup her son had made. 727

"All the people, including her husband, ran out and he pleaded with her, but she did not listen to him. 'So sang,' she said, 'Little Weasel,' and rattling her tongue she jumped down, her head going one way and her body another." 762

According to The Boy, "the climax of the last important phase of the Kit-fox Dance came when the dancers paid their ceremonial grandfathers, and they paid them well, with many horses, etc." "On one occasion," he added, "one young Kit-fox Dancer did not have anything to give, and it just so happened that all his relatives were poor and did not come to his rescue. Therefore he did not pay his grandfather anything, and he was terribly embarrassed and

*-796 ashamed. When the dance was over, the people moved to old haunts north of the Bear Paws, and then to the west of Three Buttes, and camped. The young man dressed, got on his horse and rode completely around the camp circle, singing the death-song.[38] A little later they moved to right near the Bear Paws. Here they camped and met a large Piegan war party, and had a fight. The pitched battle took place in the open plain. This young fellow fixed up and got on his horse, and was among the last arrivals. He rode headlong into the thick of the battle and all the Piegan shot at him, but they all missed and he came out unharmed to their rear. At this he wheeled his horse around, and charged right back. This time the Piegan got him and knocked him off his horse. A big crowd of them surrounded him and when the Gros Ventres got to him only his torso remained. The Gros Ventres afterwards said that he should not have ridden back the second time, that once would have been enough to satisfy for the death-song he had sung. But he had done it out of disgrace and shame he felt for not having anything to give his grandfather at the Kit-fox Dance. All this was in recent times."

DOG DANCE

The name of this dance was hotəbyʌo'wɔ, "dog lodge." The dance had disappeared before 1874, the date of The Boy's birth. But his father had joined it and both Coming Daylight and Singer had witnessed it, the latter when still a little girl. The last Gros Ventre celebration of it took place in Canada, according to Coming Daylight,—sometime between about 1865 and 1874. Our information on it, derived mostly from The Boy, who got his knowledge of it from his father, Lame Bull, with a few sparse data from Coming Daylight and Singer, is even more fragmentary than that on the Drum Dance. The origin story of the Dog Dance was given us by The Boy as follows:

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"A long time ago the Gros Ventres were camped at a certain spot and a young Gros Ventre man fell asleep some distance away from the camp. When he woke up the camp had moved. The young

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[38] See Flannery, 1953, p. 92.

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man followed their trail. After a while he saw something ahead of him also following the trail. When he got near it he saw it was a dog, and when he caught up with the dog he saw that it was an old, toothless, lame, sorefooted dog, and it whined as he caught up with it.

"The young man pitied the poor old dog and said to it: 'All right. You follow me. I'll travel with you.' So they went along. But the dog could not walk fast enough to keep up with the young man. He then lifted it up on his back and carried it, and whenever he got tired he unloaded the dog and they both rested. Finally he got to the Gros Ventre camp and there he brought the dog to his lodge and fed and took care of it.

"Then the Gros Ventres moved camp again when the young fellow was away and asleep, and he let them move and then followed carrying the dog, and he rested from time to time as he had done the first time. Then a third time all this happened, and a fourth time.

"This last and fourth time, as the young man was carrying the dog he came to a high ridge and when he got up on top of it he saw the Gros Ventre camp some distance away, and he thought: 'Here is a good place to rest.' So the young man let the dog down, rested and fell asleep. The dog slept near the young man's head, instead of near his feet.

"While the young man was asleep he heard the dog singing. The dog when it had finished singing spoke to him: 'You have done me a great favor. I am very grateful to you for pitying me and taking care of me. So I am going to repay you and pity you by giving you my lodge (dance). Look at me. I am an old dog. I will give you age. You will live long and get to look old, as I look. You will be a renowned outstanding man among your own Gros Ventre people and among all other peoples around them. I give you my coat. You must wear it when you put up my lodge. This will be part of my rite. When my lodge is put up one man shall wear my coat and he must be the most renowned man in the tribe.'

"The dog then sang a song and at the end of it howled, and then said to the young man: 'When in war you get in a tight situation, *796 773 539

if you sing this song, you will be saved.' After that the dog taught the young man other songs which ended with a bark instead of a howl. And then the dog after having taught him all about the rite, said to him: 'Put up the lodge, just as I have told you, as soon as possible and introduce it into the Gros Ventre tribe. When anybody gets scared or sick or in any other emergency, make a vow and put up my lodge.'

"And so the Dog Lodge (Dance) was accepted by the Gros Ventre tribe and every once in a while would be put up in fulfillment of a vow."[27]

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We could obtain very little information on the Dog Dance rite beyond that contained in or hinted at in the origin story. Our meager data add only few minor items to Kroeber's much fuller account of the Dog Dance.[28]

The coat or shirt referred to therein was "made from curly-haired dogs" and was given to an outstanding warrior—whether as a more or less permanent possession, or only for the duration of the rite, is not clear. The one who wore it during the dance was called tsëtcone:hi, a word having reference to "curly."[29] Coming Daylight readily recognized the shirt figured by Kroeber[30] and stated that its owner was Ice, also called Bill Jones. According to The Boy, Bull Robe[31] too, "the greatest warrior by far of his day," once owned a [or the] Dog Dance shirt, sang the first Dog Dance song (with the howl at the end) wearing the shirt, and on one occasion of extreme emergency had it with him and was the only one of his party who was saved.[32]

Of the various songs proper to the Dog Dance we could record only one, a wordless one, number 58, sung by The Boy. In the Dog Dance the first song sung was the one ending in a howl, and when the singers howled at the end of the song all the dogs in the whole camp would start howling. At the end of the other songs, the singers would bark.

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[27] Cf. shorter version in Kroeber, 1907, p. 111; also idem, 1908, p. 252.

[28] Kroeber, 1908, pp. 252-58.

[29] Kroeber, 1908, p. 252, mentions two such dancers referred to as "shaggy dogs."

[30] Kroeber, 1908, p. 255, fig. 38.

[31] Kroeber, 1908, pp. 204-16, Bull Robe's narrative.

[32] In 1948 The Boy stated that the shirt was worn by the principal vower of the Dance and kept by him until the Dance was vowed by another, in which case the shirt would be "transferred" to the new vower. [R.F.]

According to Singer: "When a man was in the Dog Dance, his wife or daughter would give away something in his honor and would dance for him. At one Dog Dance, I was going to do that for someone and I made a move to do it when just at that moment they all quit. Everybody saw me and laughed at me. I was too ashamed to get up in the first place, and here I was even more ashamed. I was a little girl at the time." Coming Daylight was also present on the occasion of this particular Dog Dance and danced in it for her maternal uncle, Crow Bull.

LAW ENFORCERS' OR OLD MEN'S DANCE

This dance was called ṇana:nəhao·'wɔ. The term denoted, according to The Boy, the act of inflicting punishment, as, for example, was done by the police on those who failed to pay their wagers in the Sacrifice Dance. (Cf. Sifton, "punish" nanáazhéttin [z = ts].) Coming Daylight and Singer stated that a whole group of members of this Dance would go to the lodge of a man whom they wanted to join the Dance and, if he refused to join, they would "tear up all his things and raise cain around his place." On one occasion they were just about to do this to the property of Singer's father, who did not want to join the dance, when his mother intervened promising to make berry soup for them for their feast, as a fine or forfeit, and they let him off. According to Coming Daylight the word means that "if somebody does not want to join they tear up all his things." In view of these facts it could be designated as the Punishers' Dance. Our informants thought it could equally well be called the Old Men's Dance or Law Enforcers' Dance, and since the latter term is the more acceptable to The Boy, we have employed it.

This Dance was last held when The Boy and Thick were small boys,—hence in the late 1870's or perhaps the early 1880's—at the junction of Beaver Creek and Bear Gulch on the east side of the Little Rockies. Our chief sources on the Punishers' Dance were The Boy, Thick, Coming Daylight, and Singer. Our information

*796 is far from complete. It does, however, help to fill out some details of the picture given by Kroeber.[33]

According to The Boy the Dance and the following one, the Old Women's Dance, were originally gifts from the buffalo. But the circumstances under which they were given were unknown even to the old men living in The Boy's lifetime. These two Dances were closely associated with the buffalo. In both, the dancers impersonated buffalo, and the performance of both Dances was [224] efficacious in bringing buffalo for the hunters to kill.

The Old Men's Dance, like the other Sacred Dances, was held only in the summer time, and only in fulfillment of a vow. The Boy was of the opinion that it lasted only one day.[34]

To be eligible to vow or to join the Law Enforcer's Dance, a man had to be well advanced in age, presumably having gone through the other Lodges, at least the Fly, Crazy, Kit-fox and Dog. The Drum Dance was dropped out of the series at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as noted above, and the Sacrifice Dance was regarded as outside of the series. While the participants were older men, somewhat beyond the prime of life, "they were still active and could get around." Since they would [887] still be eligible to vow and carry out the Sacrifice Dance they had not yet completed their society and dance career. So far as we could gather, their age range was seemingly from about the late forties or early fifties to the early or middle sixties.

Those who went through the Dance with the vower thereof were, according to The Boy, the men of about the same age-group who had gone through the other sacred Dances together,—seemingly therefore those who had been members of the same age-group of the Star or Wolves. Such a fellow member, who when invited by the others refused to join, was "punished."

The ritual grandfathers of the chief vower and of his associates were chosen from the ranks of the "retired old men" who had already gone through the Dance. According to The Boy, the chief vower's grandfather had to be a man who had himself previously gone through it as chief vower.

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[33] Kroeber, 1908, pp. 258-59.

[34] It was a four day rite according to information given to Kroeber, 1908, p. 259.

Two young men attendants were chosen, but there was no police force, according to The Boy who said none was needed in the case of these "harmless" and "venerable" old men dancers. In general, The Boy had the impression that people had not cared much what these old men did in their Dance and did not go to it much, for it had "no color to it, nothing lively about it." 796* 888

The dance lodge,—a "very simple little hut" according to The Boy and Thick; a "big round camp" according to Coming Daylight,—was put up outside the camp circle, toward the south thereof. The dancers carried out their rites "sort of secretly." They could be heard singing and dancing inside their lodge, but they did not go around much in public view afterwards as the women did in their Dance. The rattles used to accompany the singing were sticks about a foot or foot-and-a-half long with big buffalo calf hoofs on one end, and were very noisy. The leader's stick was larger and its butt end was pounded on the ground to keep time. 796* [534] [533]

Two of the Dance songs, numbers 67 and 68, were recorded as sung by The Boy. Number 68 was sung while the old men were dancing and contains their particular yell.

The other song, number 67, has the words meaning: "You first (or leading) (buffalo) bull, come in this direction (come streaming in)." This song was a "half-prayer." The singers while singing it were wishing as hard as they could, so there would be plenty of buffalo and thus the people would not have to go far to hunt successfully. The very first original buffalo procreated other buffalo and singers wanted him to lead the other buffalo, his progeny, to the Gros Ventres. The wish-thought or "half-prayer" was directed, however, according to The Boy, not to the first buffalo, but to the Supreme Being so that the latter would provide buffalo.

The primary purpose of the Dance was pretty clearly that of bringing success in buffalo hunting. After the dance was over, the camp would move to another site, and then the people "would always run into a lot of buffalo and have good hunting luck." "Even if there were no buffalo nearby when this Dance had been going on, in some mysterious way many buffalo would come and even run around in the camp." Right after the very last time the Dance was performed, the people ran into a great many buffalo. [224]

*796 888 182 The Dance must have helped appreciably to enhance the status of the elderly participants, a little old to take active part in the actual hunting and game-food providing, and to have given them a feeling of still being economically useful members of the tribe. The same *mutatis mutandis* would be true of the old women in connection with their own Dance.

After the more or less secret rites inside the lodge of the Dance were over, the dancers ran a race. After the close of the dance, the camp moved.

888 561 The elderly men who as chief vowers or associates had gone once through the Dance had reached the end of the ritual trail and became members of the unorganized "retired old men," of equal rank in this respect with their ceremonial grandfathers. After the dance the grandfathers could not control their grandsons, as grandfathers could after other Dances. After going through this Dance, the dancer though entering in a sense the "inactive" ranks could still be called on to function as a ceremonial grandfather. He moreover was allowed very considerable freedom and latitude previously denied him. With his Punishers' Dance grandfather he [571] contracted a relationship somewhat similar to the enemy-friend one. In general, while of course he was given no leave to commit grave crimes, he was allowed much freedom in talking or acting vulgarly or obscenely in public and in the presence of consanguineal or actual relatives toward whom respect and avoidance observances had been strictly required of him prior to his graduation into the class of "retired old men."[illegible]

He could, for instance, talk pretty freely with his own brother-in-law who was also a "retired old man" about matters concerning elimination and reproduction, and could indulge in a large degree of vulgarity and obscenity before a group which included even his own mother-in-law, and no one had the right to criticize him for this or protest against his behavior.

If, for example, he took off his breechcloth in the presence of a group that included such relatives, someone might say to him: "That's going too far." But the old man might answer: "I have sat on the sage brush. I have the right to do this."

[illegible] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 196.

At big social or Grass Dances, the people used to be good to 888
these "retired old men" and gave them good seats inside the hall 561
or enclosure where the dance was held. At one such gathering, 626
probably around 1905, a lot of these old men were present sitting 522
in a semi-circle in front of the four chief men. One "retired old man," Fire Steel, Thomas Main's father-in-law and Lame Bull's brother-in-law, a witty old man who liked to talk, came late. Even though Lame Bull was present, Fire Steel said aloud, in a voice that could be heard by everyone: "What is the matter with you old men sitting there? You ought to sing songs of praise. Instead you are sitting there and playing 'it' so women can admire you. But your behinds are all pretty black now!" And everybody laughed. Fire Steel used to get to a dance late and in a tone loud enough for everyone present to hear used to expose these old men's past behavior,—things that they would not want said in public.

FLY DANCE

This dance was called no:bao'wɔ "fly lodge." The word no:bä 796*
is at present used for "house fly." Our informants were not sure if the word, as used for the dance itself, referred to flies or to mosquitoes.

The dance was last performed about 1907. Our chief sources were The Boy, Thick and Coming Daylight; some stray data were gotten from Turn Toes, Charles Buckman, Thomas Main and Cora Chandler. Our information confirms Kroeber's description, and supplements it in only a few minor details.

No origin story was known to our informants, beyond the item that the dance "belongs to the flies [or mosquitoes]."

The Fly Dance, like other Sacred Dances, was held only in fulfillment of a vow, a vow usually made in less grave emergencies. In dignity the Fly Dance ranked lowest among the seven Sacred Dances carried out by men.

It was held in the summer, usually around the time when one of other Sacred Dances was being performed. Consequently there was no necessity of sending runners to assemble the people, as

*796 they would all be in camp anyhow. Our informants made no mention of criers or police in connection with the Fly Dance.

Ordinarily the Fly Dance was supposed to be gone through first, before any of the other sacred dances, but there were exceptions, as in the case of Turn Toes who joined the Crazy Dance first when he was a young man and the Fly Dance only after he was an old man. Coming Daylight's husband, Little Man, never joined the Fly Dance.[86]

[561] [883] The Fly Dance was usually performed by youths, mostly young unmarried fellows of the age range of about 16 to 20 years as nearly as we could determine. With the chief vower would be associated in the dance all the members of his own age-group or company (e.g., all the "Potbellies"), and apparently no others. They would carry it out in a body.

No women joined the dance. But, according to Coming Daylight, if a woman's son was participating as a dancer "she might go way to be back of the tent [apparently the dance lodge] and dance just like her son was doing, not making fun."

*796 608 The Fly Dancers would choose their ceremonial grandfathers from among the older men. The young fellow wishing to join the dance would fill a pipe, go with it to an old timer, and offer it to him saying: "Here is the pipe. You will be my grandfather." If the old man accepted, he would instruct the candidate in all the rites and observances of the dance and would perform the other functions therein to be noted presently. At the last Fly Dance held [circa 1907] two young fellows, Mark Black Crow and Jerry Bear, came together to Coming Daylight's husband, Warrior, and offered him a pipe, which he accepted, thereby agreeing to act as their grandfather.[87] Cora Chandler's uncle, Sits-in-the-middle, had been "boss" of a Fly Dance which she had witnessed one Fourth of July when she was still of school age, probably this last one held.

*796 According to The Boy, the Fly Dance lasted only one day. As our informants had been eye-witnesses of this dance, it is probable

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[178] [86] These exceptions occurred after the breakdown of the ceremonial cycle. [R.F.]

[87] In 1948 The Boy explained that in this Dance a group of boys—even more than four—could have the same ritual grandfather. [R.F.]

that the rites and observances to be described include all or at 796* least the main features of it, although many details may be lacking. In general, the pattern was a comparatively simple one, and, while certain sacred elements were present, recreative elements, fun-making, and a sort of Halloween spirit were decidedly to the fore.

The young fellows had a dance lodge of their own, apparently outside the camp circle. To this they brought plenty of food to provide a feast for their ritual grandfathers. After the grandfathers, or one of them, had made a smudge and offered a prayer, they painted the youths. The painting was done privately, without spectators. The smudging and praying, including perhaps the painting, were sacred. From then on the dance was secular.

After this religious part of the dance was over, the grandfather 535 [probably of the chief vower] left the dance lodge with the young fellows, and, choosing a proper spot, started the first dance and song. The Flies formed in a circle with the grandfather in the center. He held his robe spread out, like insect wings, with his outstretched arms, and started chanting "Yo ho." The Flies then chanted "Yo ho, yo ho, yo ho," a number of times, and, crouching over danced in a circle jumping up and down on both feet together. The "song," number 65, recorded as sung by The Boy, was wordless, and more a sort of chant than a song proper, and ending with a buzzing sound. There was no accompaniment of drum or rattle. At the end of the dance the Flies all of a sudden fell over, lay on the ground face down, and hummed and buzzed like a swarm of flies (or mosquitoes).

This whole dance performance was gone through at four spots around the camp circle, to the north, east, south and west in succession.

According to Coming Daylight the ceremonial grandfather, [522] standing in the middle of ring of dancers, would play jokes on them, throwing buffalo chips at them. According to The Boy and Thick, the Dancers themselves, either then or after breaking up, would throw buffalo chips at one another.

After the fourth dance, to the west, the dancers would disperse and would with sticks, to the end of which cactus spines were attached, stick anyone they could reach.

535 Then they all went back to their lodge. And so the Fly Dance ended.

WOMEN'S DANCE

*796 This dance was called benohtcao'wə. None of our informants knew the meaning of the first element of the term. The Boy thought it might possibly be related to an "old-time" Gros Ventre word for "smudge making."

The Dance was held at least twice, and perhaps oftener, during the childhood of Coming Daylight, and was last held when The Boy and Thick were small boys, too young to remember much of what they saw. Our chief informants on it were: Coming Daylight who had participated in it on two occasions as a "calf" and whose memory of many details was quite clear; The Boy and Thick who had learned something about it through personal observation, and from their elders; and Singer, a contemporary of Coming Daylight, who had witnessed it more than once. Our information supplements Kroeber's account considerably, agreeing with it in most details, but differing in some others, especially regarding personnel and regalia.[88]

As previously noted, the Dance was originally a gift from the buffalo but no origin story is known; the dancers impersonated buffalo and their performance brought buffalo for the hunters to kill.

Coming Daylight was quite positive that the Dance lasted four days or four "nights." Like the other Sacred Dances it was held in the warm weather period. According to Coming Daylight it was held once every summer.

This Sacred Dance was the only one which women could vow and only women, older or elderly ones at that, could vow it or participate in it as dancers proper. The Women's Dance was performed only in fulfillment of a vow to the Supreme Being, made by a woman. One such Women's Dance in which Coming Daylight had played the role of "calf" had been vowed by a woman "for her husband so that he would not get killed in war." He did get killed but she was told to go ahead anyway and have the Dance,—which she did. Other women would join the Dance with the chief vower, but under what general conditions and procedures we did not ascertain except that to qualify either as associates or as chief vower, women had to be "old" or "very old," to be "women who had seen all of life" and were "beyond their prime," not "young women." This would probably mean in Gros Ventre age terminology women beyond the age of about forty-five or fifty. On one occasion, while a Women's Dance was in progress a very old woman, whose brother had just been very badly wounded by some Sioux and who was hovering between life and death, came to the dance lodge where the dancers were gathered and said, "Well, I came in here of my own accord without anyone asking me to join. I promised to join so that my brother may get well." She was told to choose her side, "talls" or "shorts," her face was painted the ritual way, and so she joined. The wounded brother, it may be added, did not recover. The Women's Dance was not put up, as were the men's Sacred Dances, by age-groups proper since women had no such age group organizations corresponding to the men's Star and Wolf societies and companies.

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[88] Kroeber, 1908, pp. 260-61.

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The women dancers had no crier and no police force, but were divided, as in the men's dances, into tall slender ones and short ones. Two young women were chosen to serve during the rite as ätsa'an, attendants or waiters. "Those who were not ashamed to do things," Coming Daylight explained, "and who were quick, were chosen [as waiters]. These were not bashful or backward. They had to do whatever they were told and to wait on people. They had a lot of work to do. When there was going to be a Women's Dance, they would have to call on the members on each side of the camp circle, starting at the center opening. They would go to each lodge where there was a member." They also had to dance hard, but did not wear any caps. Their places in the dance lodge were at the door, one on the side where the "talls" sat, the other on the side of the "shorts." On both occasions when Coming Daylight served as a "calf" the two young women attendants were Woman Chief for the "talls" and Perfume (or Sweet Perfume) for the "shorts."

*796 608 The chief vower and her associate dancers had no ceremonial grandfathers but each one had a ceremonial grandmother, an old woman "who had retired and reached end of the road."

The chief vower would take a pipe filled with tobacco, offer it to an old woman, so requesting her to be grandmother and to be the "boss" and "manager" of the dance. This latter woman was in charge of the dance and told the others what to do, and was said to "make the dance for" the chief vower. The dance was held so often that all the dancers knew what was to come next, but nevertheless they would await instructions from the "boss." On one occasion when Coming Daylight was a "calf," the chief vower was a very old woman, Digger, at one time married to Crow Bull, and the "boss" was Matter-in-the-ear. After the latter had "made [845] the dance for" Digger, the latter could "make it for" some other woman. On another occasion, a woman named Hairy Woman (born with lanugo) was "boss." According to Coming Daylight, the "boss" was called "grandmother" by all the women dancers.

*796 The women dancers were considered as buffalo "cows," and as "mothers" to the "calves." One of the old women dancers played the role of buffalo "bull."

The "calves" were very young girls, not necessarily "dearly-loved" children, although there was a certain preference for them. There could be more than one girl "calf" for each dance. In one of the two dances in which Coming Daylight was a "calf," there were four girl "calves," all of them associated with the "shorts," and one boy "bull calf." The "talls" on this occasion could get no "calf" as they were too poor to give things away, as was *de rigeueur,* for the "calves." "Dearly-loved" children were preferred for the reason that their people would usually be in a position to make such presents.

When Coming Daylight was asked to take the part of a "calf" in the Women's Dance, she was a very little girl, then living with her grandmother. Two women, apparently the two waiters or attendants, came into her grandmother's lodge. One of the two at once offered Coming Daylight a big pipe, stem first, filled with tobacco mixture. She did not take it right away as she did not know what the action meant. The woman said to her: "Take it. We

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just want you to join and be a little calf in this dance." "I don't smoke," Coming Daylight replied. Her grandmother then spoke up. "My grandchild, take that pipe. There isn't anything bad about it. Just take it. If you take it it might give you long life . . . and luck in receiving gifts and things. . . . We don't like to turn it down because it belongs to life. . . . This dance all comes like concerning life, and when you get painted [in it] you have a long life. . . . You are going to be asked to dance with these women. You must try to do everything well they want you to do. You must dance good." And so she accepted, for there was nothing else to do, and when she was being painted in the dance, she prayed for the things her grandmother used to tell her to pray for,—a long life and easy acquisition of food. And she concluded: "Here, I have gotten a long enough life, so long I stagger around when I try to show how they danced!" 796*

In addition to the girl "calf" or "calves," there was also a "bull calf" (or "bull calves?"), a small boy chosen to take this part.

No men entered the ceremonial lodge during most of the dance, except two (or perhaps only one) old men singers who sat with the chief vower and the "boss" at the back of the lodge and sang. [534] The two had no drums, but instead each of them had a deer-claw rattle, similar to the Crazy Dance rattle, but "taller and with larger trimmings." The two men and two women sang, all four together, while the other participants danced. The task of these men was solely that of singing.[a]

Two other men, younger men chosen from among the most prominent and most handsome of the Stars or Wolves, served as "hunters" of the women on the last day of the dance.

Each of the "cows" had her own headdress made like a war [292] bonnet, but smaller, with feathers of all colors,—yellow, blue, red and so forth,—and with a bunch of feathers hanging at the nape of the neck. Coming Daylight's grandmother had belonged to the Women's Dance; when she got too old to dance herself she let her daughter-in-law use her headdress to dance with and when

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[a] In 1948 The Boy said that no men sang, and that the only male participants were the two "hunters." Lame Bull acted one time in that capacity. [R.F.]

*796 the grandmother died she was buried with it. Coming Daylight and Singer had never heard in their grandmothers' time of the [292] "cows" wearing belts with four buffalo tails attached, or being painted with a pipe symbol on the cheeks, or calling like crows when dancing.[40] The "cows" would don their good buckskin dresses for the dance, and, according to Singer, wore "for their belts a little calf robe tied around."

The "bull" wore as a headdress the shaggy skin of a buffalo head with the horns attached. Coming Daylight emphatically insisted that only one woman, the "bull," had horns on her headdress.[41]

The two attendants danced during the rite, but had no feathered or horned headdresses. Coming Daylight mentioned wearing her elk-tooth dress when functioning as a "calf," but spoke of no specific ritual costume for "calves" or for the "bull calf."

The dance lodge, a big one, was, according to The Boy, set up 346 outside the camp circle. The men used to put it up for them. The *796 center pole, not so big as the Sacrifice Dance one, was erected without ceremony, and was painted red by the "boss." Each dancer had her own [ceremonial?] digging-stick made of a stout cherry or Juneberry branch about 2" to 3" in diameter, with the distal [778] end pointed and curved. These digging sticks were tied to the center pole all around, with the handle end resting on the ground and the curved end pointing outward. Both sticks and ties were painted [red?] by the "boss." Coming Daylight remarked *apropos* of this: "I was small then, but I certainly looked to see how that pole was fixed. It is a good thing I did. Most children would be too crazy to observe how things were." She had never heard of two tent-poles, two pegs and two ropes of the dance lodge being painted respectively one black and one red.[42] A fire burned in or close to the middle of the lodge.

*796 The two (or one) men singers sat in the place of honor in the

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[40] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, pp. 260-61.

[41] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, p. 260. Coming Daylight had seen the Blood Indians' Women's Dance, with the women wearing headdresses like those of the Gros Ventre women and with the "bull" sitting over on the west side.

[42] Kroeber, 1908, p. 261.

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dance lodge opposite the door, with the chief vower and "boss." The place of the "talls" was on the west side (to the left of the entrance as one entered), of the "shorts" on the east side; of the "calves," near the entrance, on their respective sides with the "talls" and/or "shorts" as the case might be; of the "bull" and "bull calf" just inside the entrance, to the left thereof; of the two attendants, on either side of the entrance, one for the "talls" and the other for the "shorts."

According to The Boy and Thick, the Women's Dance ranked lowest in order of dignity among the eight Sacred Dances. This view was in a measure concurred in by Coming Daylight: "At the Crazy Dance, Kit-fox Dance and others, they had many more holy things to do. But this Women's Dance was not so holy. They did not have so many things to do." Like the Law Enforcers' Dance of the older men, it was less colorful, and the people did not care much what the old women did. Most of the rite, too, like the old men's, was more or less private.

The rite was in the main a mimetic enactment or representation of the buffalo hunt, especially the ceremonies of the fourth day. It was primarily a prayer to the Supreme Being for success in hunting the buffalo.

Our informants were able to give us fairly clear data on the ritual sequence of the last day of the four-day rite, but not on that of the first three days or "nights." The main ceremonial and social episodes, apart from the fourth-day sequence, were: Praying with the pipe, offering of sacrifices, painting of lodge and persons, singing and dancing, recreational smoking, feasting, fun-making and practical joking, gift-making in honor of participants.

The women participants stayed inside the dance lodge throughout the duration of the Dance and slept there at night, not going near their husbands. The latter did not come into the lodge, though they might look on when the women went out for water on the last day.

At some point or points in the rite one old woman (the "boss?") prayed with a pipe, just as a man would, asking the Supreme Being that the buffalo hunting would be successful.

Offerings of goods were made "like at the Sacrifice Dance."

*796 These were fastened to the center pole "at the top," so that it was "full of goods that they offered." The offerings were made by "those who made the dance." Such an offering was made, for instance, by the woman above-mentioned who joined the dance for the recovery of her wounded brother. As at the Sacrifice Dance, too, when the Women's Dance was over and camp was moved, the lodge, center pole and attached offerings were all left just standing there.

*796 302 The dancers, the two attendants and the "calf" or "calves," were painted, by the "boss" (and perhaps by others),—the dancers at least, "all over the face, then on top of the hair and down the hair hanging to the shoulders." During the painting the one painting would pray for the other being painted, and the latter might pray on her own account for whatever she desired, such as long life, medicine power, or other favors.

*796 533 Of the songs sung during the Women's Dance we recorded only one, number 66, a wordless one, sung by The Boy. The singing was done or at least led by the old man (or two old men) who sat at the back of the lodge, and was apparently (the point was not cleared up by us) joined in by the chief vower and "boss," and also by the "cows." The singing was done to the accompaniment of the deer-claw rattles mentioned previously, and without the drum. Those dancing did not sing while dancing. "The singing in the Women's Dance," The Boy remarked, "sounded 'old,' quite different from the way a young woman sings." To Coming Daylight's ear "it sounded fine."

*796 535 The dancing went on, not continuously, but intermittently, with intervals in between. Dancing was done by the "cows," attendants, and "calves," not by the "bull" who just sat in her place near the door with her horned headdress on and her head bowed down. The participants danced toward the back of the lodge, "kind of bouncing up and down in one place and shaking their heads from side to side." Coming Daylight, as a "calf," danced with the rest, near the door. [522 831] According to Singer, the dances were done in series of four, as told her by one or two of her grandmothers who had been through the Women's Dance, and, if any of the "cows" did not get up to dance, the "bull" would "get busy" and "start

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to jump on them," simulating copulation, to the amusement apparently of the other "cows." Whether the chief vower and the "boss" took part in the dancing is not clear,—more probably they did not.

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Intervals between the dancing were given over to smoking, chatting, feasting, and fun-making. In more modern times at least the women smoked for pleasure. The dancers were each expected to bring food to the dance, and feasting was an important element, the singers at the back of the lodge faring particularly well. During these intervals, too, the women would play all kinds of tricks on one another, such as taking some woman's belongings and hiding them. They would have "lots of fun," "laughing all the time" and "making lots of racket."

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Apparently it was customary for relatives of dancers in the Women's Dance, as in other sacred Dances, to give away presents to third parties in honor of the dancers.

The more public and more spectacular episodes of the Women's Dance, as of the Sacrifice and Crazy Dances, occurred on the fourth and last day. To these features we now turn.

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The "cows" and the "bull," all wearing their headdresses and accompanied by the "calves," left the dance lodge and went in a bunch to look for water in the creek and to drink. The "bull" followed to the rear, herding the "cows," and if one of the latter started to stray she would be punched back with the herd. Part of the time at least, the "cows" were "bent over, dancing like animals, and going on hands and knees." The "bull" would run after different "cows" and "jump on them," in mimic copulation. Coming Daylight, as a "calf" was told to follow one of the "cows" as her "mother" and try to nurse, but the "bull" chased her away when she approached her mother. In general, the "calves" were supposed to keep to the side, out of the way of the "bull."

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After the drink at the creek, came the pantomime buffalo drive. The two "hunters" (cf. supra, p. 245) would make a fire outside the camp circle up-wind from the women, and as the women got the smell of the smoke, the "hunters" on horseback drove them, as in a real buffalo drive, and shot the "cows" or some of them with blunt arrows that did not hurt. The "cows" who had before-

*796 hand hidden fresh kidney, with the fat on, under their dresses would on being struck fall over, "killed," and the "hunters" would pretend to cut open the dead "cows" and extract the kidney fat. The "bull," too, would be shot down with blunt arrows and "butchered," the kidney extracted first and a bit of it (and presumably of the fat taken from the "cows") offered to each person present and eaten.

The "cows," "bull" and "calves" made their way quickly back to the dance lodge, in a mimic stampede. After re-entering, the "cows" kept walking round and round the center pole, "puffing and puffing" as if winded,—representing, we may reasonably infer, buffalo milling around in a corral at the end of a drive. After a while they all sat down and partook of a good feast, and after the feast was over danced.

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It was apparently at the time of this terminal feast (possibly at some other time or times in the four-day rite,—our information is not quite clear on the point) that prominent men would come into the dance lodge for a drink of "berry water." Near the center pole was a big wooden bowl containing berries crushed to a juice "something like syrup fixed real sweet," and having a cup attached. Prominent men, "all the great big chiefs," "only big men, warriors," were invited to come in and take a drink. "They did not come in any old way. They would come in nice through the door, to the left side, drink, and then go out around the right side." They had to leave something as pay, such as a bridle, a rifle, or a horse, "because it was a great honor to be invited to drink." During this drinking by the "chiefs," the "bull" had to sit in her place silently with her horned headdress on and her head hanging down. Coming Daylight, at this juncture in one of the dances in which she was a "calf," remarked to her grandmother: "Well, that 'bull' does not even move. She just sits there." Her grandmother admonished her: "Don't say that. You are not supposed to 'tease' about it." "Well," Coming Daylight said, "'he' pushed me away when I went to my 'mother.'" After the whole dance was over, Coming Daylight used to tell all about it, but her grandmother would caution her: "Don't talk about it. You are not supposed to laugh over it."

796* After the Women's Dance was ended, the women participants broke up and each went back to her own lodge where she went through a final private ceremony. This,—and some other phases of Gros Ventre culture,—may be illustrated in the following story from real life, told by The Boy with hilarious laughter and with consummate histrionic artistry of intonation, gesture, facial expression and mimicry. Would that we could have gotten a sound-movie of it.

"It was the custom among all the tribes around here that when the old women had their Dance and it had ended they would go back to their tents and rest. Before they took a drink they would do like the buffalo does on going to water.

"Not long ago there died here a Gros Ventre man, named Hill 514 (or Butte), who was famous for his ability to break wind, loud 522 or soft, at will. He had a friend, a Blood Indian. On one occasion 796* the Gros Ventres and Bloods got together, and a Women's Dance was held. Hill went to visit his Blood friend in the latter's lodge.

"After a while, when the dance was over, the Blood's wife came home, squatted down, said 'Phew' from fatigue, took off her dance regalia, and wiped the sweat off her face. Then she took an unborn-calf robe and laid it on her head, and put on her horned ritual headdress. She next gave her husband a wooden dish to fill with water and place in the lodge opposite the entrance. [602] Hill, a spectator of all this, was a brother-in-law of the Blood's wife and hence had a right to joke with her.

"The old woman, then, in her dance regalia, got down on all fours, crawled up to the bowl of water sort of roaring like a buffalo going to drink, and as she reached the bowl suddenly shied away. This she did three times. After the fourth time she would have taken a drink, but just as she was about to drink, after the fourth approach, Hill broke wind loudly. At this the old woman just fell backwards, her headdress fell off, and she did not drink.

"Another Blood Indian present fell backwards laughing. Hill did not crack a smile. The woman's husband put his hand over his face and kept a stern demeanor until Hill said to him: 'My younger brother, don't get mad. All the tribes all over the

514 country do what I did. When buffalo go to drink, Indians just
522 shoot them. I was just re-enacting this. What I did was proper.'
*796 To this the husband replied: 'My elder brother, that's true.'

"When the people heard the laughing, they came flocking around. The other Blood was still laughing, in fact was in a laughing spell. His relatives carried him out and took him home and there dashed water on him and revived him."

PEYOTE CULT AND GHOST DANCE

668 What little we were able to gather on the peyote cult and Ghost Dance among the Gros Ventres, is here presented.

795 Peyotism is entirely lacking among the present-day Gros Ventres and appears never to have gained a foothold among them in the past. Some individuals, we were told by The Boy and Thick, had tried to introduce it, but without success as the Gros Ventres were "a little afraid of it." The fact that the Gros Ventres have been under fairly intensive Catholic missionary influence since the middle 1880's may partly account for the resistance.[43] Some young Gros Ventres, who were on a visit to the Crows, were invited to take part in Peyote observances, but declined.

On the fortunes of the Ghost Dance among the Gros Ventres, our chief informants were Cora Chandler and her husband Al Chandler, Coming Daylight, The Boy, Thick, Charles Buckman and Thomas Main. Singer had joined the movement but though perfectly willing to speak freely about other subjects was somewhat reluctant to talk about this one. Our other informants had not joined the Ghost Dance, but Cora Chandler's people "were strong for it." Coming Daylight was, as will be explained, in close contact with certain phases of it, and The Boy had been present as a spectator at many Ghost Dance gatherings.

The Ghost Dance was called among the Gros Ventres, not
[177] "Ghost Dance," but "Little Round Dances." It was first introduced among them in 1891 by a Gros Ventre from the Hays area who had lived among the Arapaho of Wyoming a number of years, had

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[43] Coming Daylight came in contact with the Peyote Cult on a visit some years ago to Oklahoma, but, she remarked, "the Catholic Indians in Oklahoma were against peyote."

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attended the Ghost Dance there, and had returned to Hays in that year. As introducer and leader of the cult he preached wa:hatcan (lit. "reunion of all together," cf. wahanichina "unite" [177] [Sifton]), signifying the rising of the dead Indians either in the near future or at the end of the world, and predicted the return of the buffalo, and into his message wove something of both Christ and the Flat Pipe. Big gatherings of Gros Ventres listened to him. Some few became converts, but most remained spectators and hearers only and declined to join. Further, the Gros Ventres did not join at all in the Ghost Dance political uprising. They had previously given their word not to go to war with the whites. The movement lasted just two years and then died out.[44]

The factors accounting for the resistance to and decline of the Ghost Dance among the Gros Ventres were, according to The Boy and Charles Buckman, the following. The older men and women did not believe Returns-to-war and the other promoters because "they had to be shown, and they felt that it was impossible for the dead, to rise again and for the buffalo to come back." The younger fellows, of the age of The Boy and Charles Buckman [179] at the time, that is, around twenty years, did not believe because "the younger generation was then going to the Catholic missionaries and had learned different." Moreover, in 1893, some Wyoming Arapaho visited Hays and from them the Gros Ventres found that Returns-to-war had "exaggerated the story," so they all quit the Ghost Dance.

From Cora Chandler, Coming Daylight and Al Chandler we gathered the following information that sheds additional light on the rise of the Gros Ventre Ghost Dance and especially on the causes believed to have led to its rejection and decline.

During the rites, there would be round dances; the dancers would be painted after which they would sing and sing; the songs

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[44] Mooney, 1896, p. 817 in his exhaustive study of the situation states that a Gros Ventre had been visiting in 1889 among the Arapaho and "heard the story and brought back the wonderful news to the Gros Ventres and Assiniboine of Fort Belknap, but although his account was received by some with unquestioning faith, the excitement had in it nothing of a dangerous character."

668 themselves were very lively ones; preaching of the content of the Ghost Dance message was a prominent feature.

795 Among those who took over leadership in the movement, along with Returns-to-war, was an outstanding medicine man who died a Catholic many years later, but who at the time of the Ghost Dance movement was bitterly anti-Catholic.

For one Ghost Dance gathering on a certain moonlight night, he had called the people to his place outside and a great many came, among them Coming Daylight and Cora Chandler's father's brother, Black Wolf, who was "one of the strong believers." After some singing and dancing, the leader said: "Wait, I am going out on that little hill over there. You all watch. I will stand there. When you see little sparks you will know the spirit has come." So he went up on the hill alone while the people stayed behind, singing, dancing and watching. Coming Daylight watched him and saw him "take a lot of matches, wet them so that they glowed in the dark, and hold his hands so that those dancing saw this fire glow." The people rushed over to him, glad that the spirit had come. The leader then took them back to the spot where they had been dancing and said to them: "Wait until tomorrow, and I will tell you what the spirit told me."

Each one who joined the Ghost Dance was supposed to have a feather of eagle down. The next morning, the leader told Black Wolf: "Your (deceased) son says you should go to where he is buried and he will bring you a feather." In the course of this day Coming Daylight happened to go over to the leader's house and there she found him sitting with all kinds of feathers around him and fixing one especially. She observed it closely to be sure she would recognize it if she should see it again. When she went back to her lodge, she said to her husband, Little Man, "That crazy thing is still fixing feathers. He is certainly up to something." She told her husband what she had seen and said: "I think he must be up to something crazy."

So when night came, Black Wolf and his wife went up to their son's grave, out on the hills near Old Hays. Sure enough there on the grave was a stick with eagle down on it. They were glad, for they thought their son's spirit had brought it to them,

and they went back to their house where a crowd was waiting to 668
see if the feather would really be found as the leader had predicted. 715
The leader, Coming Daylight, and her husband Little Man, were in the crowd. The leader took the feathered stick and handed it to Coming Daylight, who said right out: "Oh, that is the very same one I saw him fixing. . . . How could a ghost hand fix these feathers the way they are fixed?"

Notwithstanding this public exposure, the leader [no doubt later and privately] told Black Wolf's wife that because she had gotten this feather from the dead she could get anything she wanted, but that he (the leader) would have to have [sexual intercourse with] her first. She told her husband and "when he found out it was a trick, he sure was mad and he went over and was going to murder that man." [831]

Cora Chandler added that a lot of women were gotten through this trick, that there were many such Ghost Dance bosses, or leaders, and that they used to get cattle, horses, and anything they wanted, including the women.

Singer said that although she joined the Ghost Dance, she did not have to pay anything, but that her husband, when they brought him a message from one of his dead relatives, cried and gave what they asked, a buckskin horse, to the old woman boss. "They used to have women bosses as well as men bosses in the Ghost Dance."

Returns-to-war once came to Coming Daylight's husband, Little Man, and told him: "Your young brother, who got killed in the war, wants a horse, bridle and saddle." Little Man, who was a good deal of a skeptic in things religious, declined with the retort: "What is a ghost going to do with a horse and saddle?"

According to Al Chandler, "Jack Wilson got away with all kinds of things. Before he died be brought his son here to Hays and his son eloped with one girl, and that cooked his goose. They found out he was a fraud." According to Coming Daylight, "he [Jack Wilson] had a lot of women through that [the Ghost Dance]. He would choose the prettiest and best looking woman to make his smudge for him. He would have a little hut." At this point in the conversation, Singer broke in and would not let Coming Daylight continue along this line. We have come across no other

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668 record of the original Jack Wilson (Wovoka) visiting the Gros
745 Ventres. Could the Jack Wilson above mentioned be some other Indian who was an impostor or one who in good faith took Wovoka's white-man's name?

In addition, the causes listed by The Boy and Thick for the failure of the Ghost Dance to take real root among the Gros Ventre, the chicanery, racketeering and sexual episodes, attributed by many of the Gros Ventres to the leaders of the movement, must have contributed appreciably to the same result.

At any rate, the movement lasted only two years, 1891-1893, and appears to have left no permanent impression on Gros Ventre
[177 life. At or shortly after these dates, however the modern non-
524] gambling hand game was introduced from Ghost Dance sources.

CHAPTER VI

SUPERNATURAL POWERS

Most of the Gros Ventre rites and observances thus far dealt with in the present volume were intended to fulfill the wishes and needs of the whole tribe or of larger segments thereof and were actively participated in by all or many members of the tribe. In this sense these rites and observances constituted collectivistic public cult, and leaned toward cooperative altruism. The chief wishes they sought to satisfy were for continued long life for all, with abundance of food and other material necessities, and with freedom from epidemics, storms and tribal enemies, and for continued concord and solidarity among the tribal members. Ritual reliance was upon the petition, mostly to the major deities, the Supreme Being and Bha'a, through prayer expressed in word and in act. 771

Most of the rites and observances to be dealt with from here on were intended to fulfill the wishes and needs of specific individuals and were participated in by very small groups. In this sense these rites and observances constituted individualistic private cult, and leaned toward egoism, often a competitive egoism. The chief wishes they sought to satisfy were for knowledge of distant or future events, prestige through war prowess and wealth, cure of individual illness, and success in gambling or in sex affairs. Ritual reliance was upon the immediate help given in each case of appeal by an ancestral spirit or upon supernatural power imparted once for all by some non-ancestral superhuman being.

In the present section we shall take up first the personal ancestral helpers, and after that the personal supernatural powers. 787 769

Separate treatment of personal ancestral helpers and of personal powers seems advisable in view of certain rather fundamental differences between the two cultural patterns involved. The spiritual helper was appealed to for knowledge of distant or future events; other lesser beings for supernatural power in matters of

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war, wealth, curing, gambling, and sex. The helper imparted no power of clairvoyance or prophecy; the other lesser beings did impart one or other of the specific powers above listed. The helper had to be summoned to come in person on each occasion when needed; the other beings gave power once for all to the receiver and were not, at least not ordinarily, summoned to come in person when the imparted power was exercised. The helper was always a deceased relative of the helped; the power-giver was a non-ancestral being. The helper was not acquired by quest, he more or less forced his services on the recipient, and was not transferable; personal power was commonly (although not always) acquired by quest, was accepted or refused freely, and was more commonly transferable.

Our chief sources of information upon personal ancestral helpers and personal supernatural powers were: among the men, The Boy, Thick, Al Chandler, Thomas Main, Turn Toes; among the women, Coming Daylight, Singer, Garter Snake, Mary Ereaux, Cora Chandler. Their competence will, we believe, become clear from the circumstances to be noted passim in the present section.

ANCESTRAL HELPERS

The ancestral helper complex among the Gros Ventres has been recorded in detail by us in two papers published in 1944,[1] to which the reader is referred. The following account is a summarized version of these two papers.

The ancestral or ghost helper was called tsätsuwa'a,[2] of uncertain etymology. The word was used exclusively for such ancestral helpers, as distinct from other ghosts (see p. 23).

Such a ghost helper was acquired, not by quest through fasting or crying, as power was more commonly acquired. Acquisition usually came about as follows. A man or woman would keep some momento of a deceased close relative, such as some prized possession or else a rib or tooth[3] or lock of hair of the deceased,—either in order to acquire the ghost of the deceased as a helper, or else solely out of regard for the departed. In most cases nothing happened; in a few, however, the ghost of the deceased became the survivor's supernatural helper. In these exceptional cases, the survivor would be apt to hear knocking, whistling or other disturbances around the spot where the memento was kept. Then the ghost would appear to the survivor, perhaps first putting him in a deep sleep, and would offer to become his helper, or ask him if he would wish this. An offer made by the ghost could not easily be refused. 769 787

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[1] Flannery, 1944, pp. 54-59; Cooper, 1944, pp. 80-84.

[2] This same word is used by the Gros Ventres at present for "radio."

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764] [3] After the body had decomposed. Formerly the Gros Ventres did not bury the dead in the ground, cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 211.

The survivor had some leeway—Al Chandler's adoptive father, Little Man, accepted such an offer only on condition that he would call upon the ghost for his personal use and not for public use—but more commonly the ghost not only took the initiative in offering its services but more or less forced its services upon the survivor.

While the survivor was still in deep sleep or trance, he or she —women as well as men could have a ghost helper—would be taught by the ancestral spirit the proper rites, including always and particularly a song, to be used by the survivor in summoning and making use of the spirit. One such ghost-summoning song (number 27), a wordless one, recorded as sung by The Boy, had been given to Woman, nicknamed Bear Old Woman, who died around 1907, by her deceased husband (or brother?), Bad Bad Bull. It had been his doctoring song when he was alive and his ghost gave it to her to use both in summoning him and in curing people.[4] It should be emphasized, however, that a person could have an ancestral helper without having doctoring power, and vice versa. A person who lacked a ghost helper could not conduct the ghost-summoning tent-shaking rite, no matter how great power of other kinds he had acquired by quest or otherwise.

Songs other than those given for use in summoning the ancestral helper and conducting the shaking tent rite were sometimes given and taught by the helper to the person who had the helper, on occasions other than that on which the summoning song itself

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[4] Cf. Cooper, 1944, 62, 72-75.

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was given. Two such songs, victory songs, given during war raids, were recorded by us.

[184] A great many Gros Ventre men and women had power acquired by quest or otherwise from non-ancestral beings, but far fewer had ancestral helpers such as we are describing. Our informants, in fact, whose combined memories carried back to the early 1860's, could recall only five or at most six, seven or eight: Good Singer, Woman (or Bear Old Woman), Morning Star Appears (probably the same as Rising Cross), Bird Child, Bull Head, and perhaps two or three others.[•] Persons with ghost helpers had prestige, not greater however than outstanding doctors had.

[425] Power acquired from non-ancestral beings could be transferred by the possessor to another person through gift or sale. But a ghost helper was not transferable; such power was owned property; a ghost helper was not. A given person never had more than one ghost helper, so far as we could discover. In the shaking tent rite, only this one ghost helper had part,—no other being, neither the Supreme Being, nor Bha'a, nor Little Spirit,[•] nor any power-giving being.

At the time the ghost helper was accepted by its surviving relative, it promised him (or her) to come when summoned with the summoning song, but, in sharp contrast to the practice of non-ancestral power-bestowing beings, it imparted no power to him whatever, whether in war, medicine, gambling or love, except the "power," if it can be called such, to summon the ghost and except by sheer coincidence as in the case of Bad Bad Bull mentioned above. The ghost helper imparted not power, but knowledge; not any power of clairvoyance, prophecy or wisdom, but knowledge itself; not once and for all at the time of being accepted by the person, as did the power-bestowing beings but from time to time if and when summoned. The sole function of the ghost helper as

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[•] Cf. Flannery, 1944, pp. 55-58; Cooper, 1944, pp. 62-77 passim. Rising Cross of Flannery, p. 56, was pretty surely the same person as Morning-Star-Appears or Morning-Star-Is-Up, of Cooper, p. 71; probably the same person as mentioned in Watches-All's narrative by Kroeber, 1908, pp. 216-17.

[114] [•] That Little Spirit could function in the shaking tent rite in place of an ancestral spirit, as stated reservedly by Cooper, 1940, p. 112, is an error, corrected by field data gotten by him later.

such was, in answer to questions asked it on each separate occasion when summoned, to reveal knowledge about past, present, future or distant happenings or to impart counsel and directions on what to do in given cases of illness or danger. The ghost helper rarely if ever came unsummoned and only exceptionally volunteered information. As a rule it gave information in response to specific questions asked. The helper was never questioned about trivial or silly matters, or about such things as the fidelity or infidelity of a wife. Questions would be asked, for example, regarding missing persons, the whereabouts and plans of the enemy, the fortunes of a distant war party,[7] the outcome of an impending battle or of an illness, the location of a stolen article and the identity of the thief, the best place to go for good buffalo-hunting. 769 787

The ghost helper did not hover around the person habitually. When need for its services arose it had to be summoned from afar, from the distant abode of the dead.

When the services of a person with a ghost helper were desired, he (or she) was approached with an offer of a pipe to smoke. He was often reluctant or afraid to accept, but could not easily refuse.

The summoning rite was held at night, with the fire out, in darkness,—ordinarily in the performer's lodge, but, if the party were away from camp, in a small emergency shelter or sweat-lodge. If the rite were held in the performer's lodge in camp, a blanket-curtain was hung up across part of the back of the lodge, and the performer stayed hidden behind this out of sight of the clients or spectators.

Commonly, although not always, the performer was first wrapped in a blanket and then securely bound with thongs, the binding often being done by some skeptic present who was challenged by the performer to do it.

After being tied, the ghost-possessor sang his summoning song, those present joining in. As the ghost helper approached, whistling, humming, and other noises, sometimes an owl call, would be heard. As the ghost entered the lodge, always through the top, the top of the lodge and often the whole lodge would shake violently, and

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[7] For an example of use of ancestral helper on a war party, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 94-98.

769 something (presumably the ghost) would sometimes be heard sliding down the side of the tent—behind the curtain where the
787 performance was and landing with a thump. Soon after the thongs with which the performer had been bound would be thrown out, rolled in a tangled ball over the curtain at the spectators.

Next a pipe would be lit and offered to the ghost to smoke, and in the darkness the tobacco would be seen to glow up rhythmically each time the ghost drew on it. The ghost itself, however, at this juncture and throughout the rite remained invisible. The people present would finish smoking this pipe, after which the ghost would ask why he had been summoned. Most ghost helpers talked a whistling talk; some just in a natural voice.

If the ghost could answer offhand the question or questions asked it would do so. Otherwise it would tell the questioners to wait while it went away to get the information requested. As it departed through the top, the tent shook. While the ghost was away the people in the lodge would light the fire, have a smoke, put out the fire and sing the ghost song. On returning through the top with the usual shaking thereof the ghost would give the information asked. Usually such information was dependable, but not always; one such ghost we were told of had been a liar when living—"so you couldn't expect his spirit to tell the truth!"

After the ghost had given the desired information (or perhaps earlier in the rite, after it had had its smoke), food, especially puppy meat was offered it, and in the dark the spectators could hear the ghost eating. Finally the ghost would depart through the top of the lodge, which would shake violently as the ghost left.

After the ghost's departure, the performer would come out from behind the curtain, the fire would be re-lighted, the customary prayer before eating would be offered by the performer to the Supreme Being and other beings, all present would eat the food left over from the ghost's repast, and, after smoking and chatting a while together, all would depart.

In the ghost helper calling-rite carried out under emergency conditions, as on war expeditions, certain supplications and omissions could be and were sometimes made. The several detailed accounts of seances recorded by us indicate moreover that quite

apart from emergency conditions, ritual variations from the above- 769
described pattern occurred, perhaps in accord with varying ritual 787
instructions received by different individuals from their respective ghost helpers.

Before leaving the ghost helper complex and taking up the power 755
complex, we may mention here one case, given us by Al Chandler,
the only one of its kind we recorded, which shares certain elements 769
peculiar to each. Al Chandler's adoptive father, Little Man, was 787
keeping a rib bone of his deceased uncle, who had been "a kind of medicine man." His uncle's spirit came and asked Little Man: "Why do you do this? What are you going to do with me?" "This is just for myself," Little Man replied. "I don't want to be that kind who have spirits. If I need you I am going to call on you and I want you to help me. I am not going to make you a popular servant (not going to use the rib in general practice). But if I need you, you can come and help me."

Little Man, Al told us, made use of that rib one time when he cured his brother-in-law, old Turn Toes, of facial paralysis (caused by ghosts: cf. supra, p. 23). Brothers-in-law like to tease each other. So when Turn Toes came to Little Man to be treated,
the latter took the rib, rubbed it four times, and in fun twisted 801
Turn Toes' mouth way around on the other side. At this, Little Man's wife got angry and said: "You shouldn't do that to him." Little Man said: "I just want to make sure that the next time his mouth won't go crooked on this other side." So then Little Man put his brother-in-law's mouth straight and shoved his eyes up in place. And Al added: "You can see that old man [Turn Toes] today [1940] and he is all right." [Turn Toes has since died, in 1942 or 1943].

Whether in the above case curing power was in the rib itself 769
or whether the ghost of Little Man's uncle came and cured on oc- 787
casions of use of the rib, is not clear. If the latter, as implied in Little Man's words to his uncle, at the beginning, we have a curing differing materially from the one to be described in the following on supernatural power, and much more akin to the Woodland Algonquian concept of the guardian spirit proper,—the guardian spirit who comes on call to cure and otherwise to help the possessor,

769 787 —rather than the power-giving being who bestows upon the recipient power the latter can use at will without having recourse to or summoning the original donor. No historical interpretation is here being suggested. It looks, instead, that Little Man's deviant power in the case was merely an idiosyncratic variant of the ghost helper concept to which, not wishing to assume the normal public offices of persons with ghost helpers, he attached to curing functions not for all ailments but for ailments caused by ghosts.

PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWERS

787 778 Supernatural power was acquired by an individual mostly for success in war, accumulation of wealth, doctoring, gambling or love. It was obtained more commonly by quest, although often without quest, and could be transferred by sale, gift or bequest. It was bestowed by many different kinds of beings,—mostly quadrupeds, birds, snakes, rocks; in some cases, ghosts, indeterminate "persons" or "spirits." How and from whom power was acquired differed appreciably in accordance with the several above-listed kinds of power. These differences we shall describe later in detail under these several categories: war, wealth, doctoring, gambling and love. Before doing so, we shall deal with certain characteristics more or less common to all the above five categories.

782 869 In general, the Gros Ventres distinguished between three chief methods of fulfilling their desires and wants: natural ability, prayer and power. A person was supposed to make best use of his native physical and mental endowments to acquire skills, to use his wits, to develop his capacities and personality,—in a word, to rely on himself and to stand on his own feet, whether as foodgetter, craftsman, warrior, gambler, or what not. His second recourse, where his inborn and acquired abilities fell short or threatened to fall short of enabling him to fulfill his wishes and needs, was prayer, primarily although by no means exclusively to the Supreme Being. The third choice, in the ideal order, was resort to power.

Turn Toes, for instance, as an orphaned boy used to be advised by his grandfather: "Do not seek doctoring power, but pray to the Supreme Being. This is enough." 782 869

According to The Boy, "Parents in advising their children how to conduct their lives would counsel them: 'Do not have ambition to have power like medicine men, else you will not live long. A medicine man forfeits his prospects of a long life and dies soon [a point to which we shall return presently]. It is far better and safer to just pray, that is, pray to the Supreme Being, and pray all the time. Make prayer the guiding rule in your lives.' Some people acquire power either by sleeping out on the hills or without seeking it. In either case they have to pay the price in shortened, restricted, danger-beset lives. The most important thing of all is to pray, beg, plead. This makes by far for the most happy and good life. This is far above seeking power."

On another occasion, The Boy explained the situation as follows: "However great or renowned these men and women with powers were in the old days, and however much they enjoyed the powers sought by and conferred upon them, they (the powers) were all right only while they lasted. The old-time Gros Ventres knew definitely that people who had these various powers would not live out their full span of life. Parents when raising their children would tell them to avoid that kind of life. They would exert all the influence in instructing their children not to go out on hills and seek power, but to have ambition to acquire fame and respect from exercise of natural ability. They tried to school their children along these lines and [to teach them] that it was considered weak to have the powers from these sources,—from rat, mountain, prairie chicken, and so forth. This my father, Lame Bull, told me all the time, and all the rest of the people told their sons and daughters this same rule of life. And the criers with the chiefs of the tribe, when they walked around on a nice calm day, would surely go into this matter, making it perhaps the main subject of their lecture. But still it [power seeking] was done, against such advice and against better judgment and better experience. All of these fellows who had these powers died prematurely." [203]

Thomas Main had many times heard his grandfather, Lame Bull,

782
869 say: "It is not good to ask that kind of a career [from powers].
It would be a life misspent and would be dearly paid for. Man's
[761] dearest possession is life, and this would be cut off."

Charles Buckman had heard old men say that, although they had
787 fasted and prayed over and over again for power, they had never
869 had even a dream, and that this may have been why they had lived
761 to old age.

According to The Boy, his father Lame Bull, when a young man, dreamed that the being who lived on Baldy Butte in the Bear Paw Mountains called him. So on one occasion when the Gros Ventres were camped near this butte, Lame Bull thought this was a good time to accept the invitation and go up on this butte and sleep. He was getting ready to do so, when his father gave him a sound scolding: "I always told you not to try to be a holy man, a man with power of that kind. Those who have such power do not live long. Forget about sleeping on the mountain and attend to the horses and lodge poles. We need you at home. Mind your own business. So Lame Bull did not get to sleep on the mountain. His father was boss."

Coming Daylight came back repeatedly to the same theme. "I am not a medicine woman [with power] and that is why I have lived to be such an old woman." "I am not sorry I refused the medicine power offered me in a dream. Medicine people die soon. It seems like they have a certain time to die and they don't live to be old like myself and Singer. These medicine people are not strong like others." "I never accepted any kind of power. Those who have power die too soon." "They [the beings] used to trick people into taking all these things [powers] because they wanted them to die. The holy dreams are very tricky."

787 Singer gave her own experience. "I used to take a blanket or
other offering and put it in deep water and pray that they [ap-
778 parently the water monsters] would have pity on me. One night after I had just done this I dreamed that a person was standing there and that nearby lay the emaciated body of one who was very very sick. This person told me: 'I give you my body.' This is the way a being puts it in a dream when going to bestow power. Then the person showed me how to doctor, he used a pipe-stem which

was full of 'nicotine,' and showed me how to draw out sickness 787
through the stem. But I told him: 'I don't care to have any power, 778
because people who accept power have only a certain length of time
to live and it is always too soon [short].' "

Those who possessed gambling power in particular always became 753
afflicted with some serious ailment of their legs and/or arms.
There would be pain in and swelling of the joints, and the pos- 787
sessors would die before their time. This happened to Lone Bear, 778
The Boy's wife's father, who had gambling power; while still in
his prime his legs went bad, and even though he quit gambling
to escape the penalty, he died prematurely. Red Whip, too, one of
the greatest of those with gambling power, who died in 1912,
died, the Gros Ventres believed, before his time.

It was believed that Bull Lodge, a great medicine man, did not live his life out.

A person, however, who had acquired power and later transferred all of it by gift or sale to another person or persons could thereby escape the penalty and live his life out. In this case the penalty would be transferred, along with the power, to the transferee or transferees.

Doctoring power was sometimes avoided or refused for other 787
reasons than fear of or unwillingness to accept the penalty of ill-
ness or shortened life. Doctors, somewhat like keepers of the 756
sacred Pipes, had to live restricted lives, abstain from certain
foods, and avoid certain actions. Personal liberty was thus curtailed. Coming Daylight, when a young girl, was offered medicine power by a man four successive times in dreams, but she refused: "I did not want to be a medicine woman. I did not like it because medicine people suck on the affected part of the patient and have to swallow what they extract,—even though that man was showing me that I would have to extract with my hands, and not by sucking." Bad Bad Bull had power to cure the powerful "stomach-eating sickness" [cancer?] and used to suck out the small animal that caused it. In his old age he wanted to give this power to his sister, but she would say: "Oh, I am bashful. I would not be able to doctor that sickness. I would like to have the power so I could cure the pains but I would not like the part [or the curing pro-

787 cedure] where you pull [suck] it [the animal] out." When she
756 would say that people would tell her: "You should have taken the power and so gotten a lot of things [in payment] for curing that disease."

[831] Some women would refrain from asking power, particularly love power, from men who had it, because payment included allowing sex relations with the man.

787 778 While, then, the possession of powers brought the possessor some very worthwhile advantages, advantages differing in kind according to the specific power acquired, it had its drawbacks—chiefly illness and shortened life, but also restrictions on freedom and other obligations distasteful to at least some individuals. The advice, therefore, given by parents and councilors to avoid seeking power is understandable. So, too, is the fact that many neither sought power nor accepted it when it was offered by supernatural beings or by fellow-tribesman. Many thus clung more to what appears to The Boy and others to have been the ideal Gros Ventre philosophy of life: For the fulfillment of your wishes rely on yourself and on prayer, rather than on magical power.

We recorded a number of cases of refusal of power, some of them already cited above in passing. In no case of refusal except one did the person refusing suffer any evil consequences therefor, and two of our informants, Coming Daylight and Singer explicitly stated that such refusal curtailed no penalty. A person was quite free to accept or decline an offer of power whether made by a power-giving being or a power-possessing fellow-tribesman. Neither of the latter would take offense if the offer were declined.

756 778 787 Coming Daylight in various free chats volunteered many details of her own personal refusals of power. Her earliest experience came when she was a very young girl, only about eight years old, and was living with her grandmother. "I used to sleep in a big lodge [with her grandmother]. While I was sleeping, a man came and wakened me. He had a bag of medicine on his back and told me, 'You can be a medicine woman.' The third time he appeared to me [in dreams], there was a person lying there, just skin and bones. The man [with the medicines] said to me, 'You could cure such persons as this one. You can take all these medicines,'

and he spread out, all the medicines and told her what each was 787
for and said, 'Do everything I tell you to do. Lay your hands on 756
the sick and you will have it [medicine? cause of illness?] on
your hands.' But I never wanted to take this and I would tell 778
the man so. In the morning I would tell my dream to my grandmother, although I was not supposed to do so until after the fourth dream, and my grandmother would say to me: 'Do not say anything. You will be a great medicine woman.' But I did not want this power. I kept refusing it and for this reason after the man had appeared to me in dreams the fourth time he quit coming. I would have been great if I had accepted the power but I did not want it.—Maybe if this dream had come to me later I might have accepted the power and then I would have been like Good Singer [Coming Daylight's father's sister, a famous medicine woman of Coming Daylight's earlier years]."

On later occasions, too, she was offered power in dreams, but she always refused and does not regret having so refused. "But," she said, "all I wanted was to live a peaceful life and get food easily. I have always been well fixed with things to eat and have gotten things easily, because I prayed for these things instead of taking medicine power . . . besides I had too many children to be a medicine woman. . . . My children were all Catholics. I too joined the Church, and I will be a good Catholic until I die."

Coming Daylight was also offered in a dream the power to "know children," that is, power to doctor women who did not want children and likewise refused it.*

On other occasions, an old medicine man, who had cured her infant daughter would offer to transfer curing power to her, at the implicitly understood common price of granting sex relations with him. "If you want that power," he would say, "you can come crying to me." But she used to answer: "Oh, I wouldn't do that because you are one of those who like to have women and you would try to have me."

One instance of refusal of power by Singer was noted previously. Another was described by her as follows. "Once when we had gone to Rocky Boy Reservation, I went quite a distance to fetch

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*Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 129.

756 wood. Something in my sleeve kept biting me. I would sort of
787 work my sleeve but it kept biting me. Finally I took off my dress
and found it was a big spider with long legs. I did not kill it but
778 just brushed it off. That night in a dream the spider told me:
'Because you had pity on me, I will have pity on you.' But I told
the spider: 'I do not care for any powers from a bug or spider.'
Afterwards people told me I should have accepted the offered
power so that I could doctor spider bites. If you accept a power
like that you are shown in your dream how to doctor. Nothing
happens if you refuse such power." Every once in a while people
were bitten by spiders. Cora Chandler had heard of one such case:
[165] "One fourth of July at Lodge Pole a woman got bitten while fixing her tent and died the same evening. Had Singer accepted the power offered her, she could have doctored that woman."

Little Man, Al Chandler's adoptive father, once refused power from a rattlesnake to cure snake bites, but acquired power to cure seven dying persons. He had cured people and wanted to pass on what remained of his power to Al. But the latter in recounting the matter stated: "I did not want this power on account of the Catholic Church. I was afraid I might poison somebody. But the old man [Little Man] said: 'You will know all about it and what to do. All you have to do is to accept it. The rest will come to you. I am getting old and you might need it for your children. You could doctor your own children.' But the Catholics did not want you to do such things." So Al declined the old man's offer.

787 By three different men, who possessed love power, The Boy
was offered this power, but in all cases he refused. His accounts
832 follow.

778 "One old man lived near Bear Paws and when he came to my place, then on the Milk River, I used to accommodate him, although he would eat with my father, Lame Bull. He appreciated this and wanted to do something to repay the favor. So he said to me: 'I am going to give you my woman's medicine in payment for consideration of your service to me. I haven't anything of adequate value to pay you back.' He had a looking glass he used to do his stuff with. But I diplomatically refused. I told him: 'I do not like that kind of thing and never have, although I appreciate the fact

that you are grateful and what you are offering to do for me.' The old man did not get mad or insulted, and he said to me: 'It is well you refuse this thing anyhow.' He did not tell me all the details (about the power and its manner of use), because I refused it. 778 787 832

"Another old man offered me that kind of medicine [love power] out of my appreciation of my good treatment of him, and did not get mad when I refused it."

One other old man, who liked his liquor, was on one occasion given a treat of it by The Boy and another man. Soon the old man was feeling pretty good and started to get generous and said to The Boy: "Now, my son, I am an old man now and I appreciate your giving me this drink, so much so that I am going to give you something worth something." It was this love medicine. But The Boy "refused him nicely" and did not take it.

One final illustration of refusal,—"just an old time story," Coming Daylight called it who related it,—may be given, the only case we recorded of penalty believed to follow refusal. Perhaps even in this case the refusal was not so much of power as of a request to hold a Sacrifice Lodge. 787 778

"A man was hunting north of the canyon [near the present St. Paul's mission in the Little Rockies] and was shown [by whom?] a nice clean big cave. In this cave were big strings, like a spider puts before he makes a whole web, that is one strand crossing the other at right angles. Right in the middle [at the intersection] was a medicine wheel, of the kind always used at the Sacrifice Lodge. The man just stood and gazed at it. He saw it good and it belonged to the Sacrifice Lodge. He camped in the mountains overnight. That night this wheel told him in his dream: 'You ought to take me so you can make this Sacrifice Lodge.' But the man did not take it. He went back to camp and told his dream and his refusal to take the wheel. After that he began to waste away with a sickness called 'cut away,' in which the flesh starts to disappear in a small place and just sinews show and then it spreads. It was a quick sickness and he died of it. They say this happened to him because he did not take that medicine wheel." [164]

From what has been recorded on the preceding pages it seems quite clear that the individual was under little or no supernatural

787 or social compulsion to seek power, and was subject to no penalty
if he refused it when offered to him by supernatural beings or by
778 fellow-tribesmen. In fact, a certain amount of social pressure was brought to bear upon him to avoid and refuse it. Each individual had to make his own free choice, weighing the advantages against the disadvantages, the profit against the cost. The decision to seek or refrain from seeking, to accept when offered or to refuse, was entirely up to him.

554 We have listed the disadvantages, the cost. What were the advantages, the profit? Chiefly prestige, material gains or wealth,
778 and sex favors, depending on the type of power sought or accepted. The great warrior and the great doctor who attained eminence through power both enjoyed high prestige. Which of the two, warrior or doctor, ranked higher is hard to say. Both had very high standing and both were deeply respected. The Boy and Coming Daylight inclined to rank the great warrior a bit higher than the great doctor. In The Boy's word, "both had high standing, each in his own field. The warrior perhaps rated higher. The medicine man had standing, but only on certain occasions was he thought of. But a renowned warrior had the admiration of the tribe because he had risked his life and was a strategist and by his own efforts." According to Coming Daylight "it was the greatest thing to be a warrior and look for the enemy." Al Chandler leaned more to the view that "if a man was honest about his medicine,—so many times they [medicine men] faked and tried to got everything a person owned,—and was known to be honest, he was respected to the same degree as a warrior." All informants were however fully agreed that both warriors and doctors ranked high. Doctors who had power to kill and who were suspected of using it were more feared than respected. Men who had gambling powers ranked far below warriors and doctors in the prestige scale. Of one the most famous recent Gros Ventre possessors of gambling power The Boy remarked: "He was just a little fellow. He was just a gambler," and a man known to have gambler power could not be selected to the high office of Pipe-keeper. Likewise those who had love power were usually rather chary of advertising widely the fact as well as the source of their power.

Power thus in varying degrees conferred prestige, a much sought after good in Gros Ventre competitive life. Most types of power,—and not only power to acquire wealth directly,—brought material rewards. War raids had largely the purpose of acquiring horses, the main Gros Ventre wealth in earlier days, from the enemy.[*] Doctoring brought the practitioner large emoluments; gambling power netted the owner rich winnings. Love power, in addition to securing sex favors for its possessor, could also be a source of good profit through transfer by sale to others. Wealth among the Gros Ventres gave prestige on its own account as well as material ease and security. Further, wealth was inextricably tied up with prestige as goals sought through military, medicinal, gambling and love powers. 554 778 [721]

These were the chief advantages and profit or power which the individual had to weight against the disadvantages and cost thereof.

Many individuals, in view of the cost, neither sought nor accepted power, as we have seen.

Many others, however, men and women and even some young boys and girls, sought or accepted power, and such power was by no means confined to professional medicine men but was widely distributed among the laity. A few, but very few, children had power: the several cases recorded will be given later. But many women as well as men acquired it; what exact proportion of whole adult population is hard to say. The Boy, Thick concurring, stated: "Only a few men and women had ancestral helpers, but it was the usual thing for grownups, men and women, to have some kind of power." On another occasion, they said: "Not everyone tried to get power [by fasting on mountains] but only certain individuals. For instance, of three men only one might try, the other two might not care to try." On still another occasion, The Boy remarked: "Not all who slept on mountains got power. Lots got nothing; they didn't even dream. Only a few got power from such a quest. Some tried over and over again but never got anything. A man might spend five to seven days on the mountains and yet not even dream. If, say 30 or 40 slept on the mountains, only three or four of them might get power. Only a few Gros 778 787

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[*] For discussion of Gros Ventres concept of wealth, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 73-79.

778 787 Ventres, not many, had power. Males would start questing when young, but older men would also go out to seek power. After a man got to be really old, he no longer tried." Charles Buckman had heard old men say that they had fasted and prayed (on the hills) over and over again but that in spite of the sufferings they thus endured "they never had even a dream," and, in another chat, he remarked that "few fasted and prayed."

[184] It seems, therefore, that many men did not go out on hills to seek power (women never did so), and that relatively few even of those who did go were successful. At least, very few were successful in acquiring really significant or great power. On the other hand, many, the majority perhaps of both men and women, had minor power or powers of one kind or another, gotten initially otherwise than by quest or by transfer. Thus for example, Coming Daylight, who had repeatedly refused curing powers offered her in dreams and who insisted she was in no sense a medicine woman or "holy," this is, power-possessing, woman, had certain herbal curatives, for family use, given her by her maternal grandmother and by her mother's sister, Good Singer, a noted medicine woman of earlier days. Or, to use just one other example, many women and men had bought love medicine from other men or women. These minor powers, of many different kinds not always distinguishable from non-magical knowledge and ability, were apparently very common,—"the usual thing," as The Boy expressed it above, "for grown-ups, men and women."

THE POWER QUEST

787 827 The favorite time of the year for going out to seek war, wealth and doctor power was spring. In The Boy's words: "It was known to be easier to get doctor power in spring. Everybody used to say that the young bear cubs used to wash their feet with the first rain of the spring. Bears were easy to get power from in spring. They were eager to give their power at this season. All nature is alive in spring. Grass, trees and leaves wake up. Hibernating animals used to sing before coming out of their winter dens. Bears come out of their hibernating dens after the first rain of spring. The body of even a human being is sort of stationary in winter

time. All we can do in winter time is to look after our bodies. But 787
in spring the body feels good, and when we look around we see 827
the grass and leaves and animals appearing. There is a revolutionary change. They get power at that time. They take advantage of the newness of all nature. Everything is in blossom. Most animals then have their young. It is the most 'affectionate' season of the year. Nature smiles on all living creatures. Food and all that man uses in his life are easier to get then. Doctoring power was gotten more easily then than at other time—most who went out in spring did so principally and most frequently to seek war power, so some being or animal or something would give them power to be great warriors; or to acquire wealth in horses and not to be poor, or to get things easily without much effort. Some however went out chiefly to get doctoring power." While however spring was the favorite season for the power quest, it was not the only one.

Women never went out on the hills to seek power. This was 787
done only by males. The latter would ordinarily begin to do so around the age of seventeen or eighteen years, or before twenty-one, just before reaching full manhood, most of them to get power to be great warriors. Young boys did not go out on the mountains. Only one case of a young boy going out to seek power was recalled by The Boy and Thick. He was about twelve or fourteen years old. He did not go far out, but did his crying a little way from camp and would return every night and sleep outside the tent where he and his people lived. Another such exceptional case was that of Bull Lodge, Garter Snake's father, who started his quest sleeping out in the mountains when he was only about twelve years old.

The place for those to go who sought war, wealth, or doctor 787
power was the top of buttes, hills or mountains, some distance from
camp. Certain of these elevated spots seem to have been preferred 823
localities.

McCann Butte, the first butte of the Bear Paws, was specifically mentioned by informants as having been frequented by Stiff-arm, by Bear Nose, and earlier by Coming Daylight's grandmother's brother, the first Crow Bull, in their quest. Bull Lodge, Garter Snake's father, got doctoring power on Baldy Butte, the

787 823 highest of the Bear Paws, and it was to Baldy Butte that The Boy's father, Lame Bull, was called in a dream. Another Gros Ventre, still living, sought power on Eagle Child Butte at the west end of the Little Rockies.

At three other spots mentioned by our informants quest for power was always a failure. According to Coming Daylight, "There was a rock [location not specified by her] that looked like a buffalo sitting. Many young men tried to fast and sleep there, but they claimed they never could because there was always something to scare them away. It was a spirit that looked like a person. They could hear people talking and there would be a light just like a camp fire. With all that they just could not stand it. No one ever stayed there."

Cora Chandler stated that "not far from Hays there is a steep hill called by the Indians, Electric Butte. Stiffarm used to tell all kinds of stories about that place and used to say that no one could sleep there for power because electricity came out of the rock(s) there." Stiffarm tried many times to sleep there but always had to run away. Coming Daylight's husband, Warrior, used to try to have thunder dreams and thunder power. She and he once went together [not questing] to Electric Butte. "There were," she said, "marks of electricity on the rock like at night when it storms." The rock had rolled down. "We did not touch it, except when Warrior put it back in place—During electric storms flashes come out of it."

The third place,—this one by exception not a mountain top,—was a hot spring somewhere south of the Missouri River. "Across the Missouri River," Singer said, "there was a big spring with no trees or anything [near it]. The stream goes away from this place in a curve. In the old days they [power questers] used to sleep there to get power from that spirit. But no one could ever stay because they were frightened when they would hear someone who had a big pot of boiling water say: 'I am going to have the legs,' or 'I am going to have the arms.' So the one who was trying to sleep there [for power] would run away. Long afterwards I went with some old women to see the place. It looked different than in the old days. The water used to go up and down, and once in a

787 823 while shells like those I wore for earrings would show. But the place was grown over with weeds and white settlers were there. The old women said: 'It is funny that they [the whites] do not hear the spirit getting [ready] a pot of boiling water for them.' They thought it strange that the white people could stay there."

Those few men who sought gambling power—it was never sought or possessed by women, we were told—sought it not on hill tops but in the lowlands, in the brush and timber along streams, from prairie chickens or ghosts there. The quester chose by preference a place where wild morning-glories formed a sort of bower or "tipi." The seeker would cry and when he got sleepy would crawl into the bower and sleep. In his sleep a prairie chicken or ghost would give him a song, certain rules to live by, procedures and rites to use in the hand game,—the only game in which gambling power was used,—and perhaps some powers of the legerdemain order. The person who acquired gambling power by quest would be very chary of revealing his quest experiences.[10]

Seemingly still more secretive and tight lipped were persons who acquired love power through quest. According to The Boy, our only informant on this point, "these fellows [who had it] were careful never to tell who gave this power. Sometimes they would say a 'person' gave it, but it was generally known that it came from bird or animal on the ground or in the water." On other occasions he stated: "Usually some animal gave love power," and questers "did not ask for success in gambling or love on the mountains, but on the prairies or in the brush along rivers." The being would give the quester a root to use in exercising love power.

[302 515] A person before starting out for a chosen mountain top to seek major powers would, The Boy put it, "take a good bath and clean up his body well and put perfume on his body so he would smell good—those who did not use perfume would be told by the being on the mountain: 'Go away. You smell bad.'" He would also unbraid his hair and would wear no clothing except his moccasins and under his blanket his breechcloth. He took no weapons with him. "He took a lot of chances," Al Chandler commented, "because enemies might be close-by. But no enemy ever seemed to

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[10] For fuller details, see Flannery and Cooper, 1946, pp. 405-09, 416.

787 [823] disturb such young men. Everybody wonders how it was that none of the enemy ever ran on to a man in that state [that is, on quest]." The quester also took with him a pipe with tobacco mixture.

On the way out to the hill top, the young man was often accompanied to the spot by some older man, but only to help get the quester settled as it were. Once the quester was settled, the helper departed, and the young man had to carry on his quest strictly alone and in isolation. The quester's stay night and day alone on the mountain top was distinctly a test, not only of fasting endurance but of both physical and moral courage and stamina. There was danger of the known,—such as human enemies, snakes, or bears. Still more, there was danger from contact with the unknown, the supernatural. Questers often had fearsome and uncanny experiences while out on the hills. A concrete example, the experience of a Gros Ventre still living, as told by Thomas Main who had heard the story several times from Gambler, may illustrate the point. The incident occurred around 1900.

"The Gros Ventre [whom we shall call X] was with Gambler, an old Arapaho, on the Mission ranch near Hays. X wanted to sleep on a mountain top to acquire power. Gambler told him: 'Don't do it. You don't hold your mouth right. Your heart is small and your mind is narrow. You haven't nerve enough. You are physically courageous, but not morally so.' X replied: 'I'll show you. Sleeping on a mountain is easy. It is easier than riding a bucking horse that can kill me (and I'm not afraid to do the latter).' So Gambler said: 'I'll go with you and bring your horse home and attend to your chores while you are away.' So they went off together to Eagle Child Butte at the western extremity of the Little Rockies, taking with them a pipe, mixture, and blanket. On their arrival, Gambler built a little shelter for X to sleep in, and just before he left him said to him: 'All right, you've gone this far. Now carry it through. But I bet you that you will be back in your bed at the ranch before morning.' Gambler now left him to himself and went back home. X then started to walk around and cry, and after this to rest and smoke. Sometime during this very first night something happened. X would not reveal what it was, but he told Gambler afterwards: 'I could not stand that kind of thing!' X went home as Gambler had predicted and when Gambler went to X's house the next morning for the milk bucket, there was X. X would never tell what really happened that night." The Boy commented, "X was not the only one [quester on mountain top] who ran away; others did;" and added parenthetically, "No one has ever been able to spend the first night on Chief Mountain in Glacier National Park." 787

One legendary narrative we gathered,—"just an old time story" the narrator, Coming Daylight, called it,—was well calculated to put fear into questers. 787 539

"A certain young man slept out on the hills and he cried and cried. He had a shelter and went to sleep in it. While he slept a big snake came from the south to west all around where he slept. The snake ate up the young man and left only the bones. Where the snake had come from it had made a bald path with no grass at all, just like a rock.

"This young man had told his friend: 'Come tomorrow and bring me a pipe.' The next afternoon his friend came and saw the snake track and got scared. From outside the shelter he called to his friend. Getting no answer he went in. There he saw the skeleton. So he called out yelling for the young man's people. Everybody came, and the young man's folks especially were scared when they saw the snake's track. When the young man's folks saw the skeleton they started to mourn. His friend took a quilt, wrapped up the bones in it, and carried them home. The people had a hard time to quiet the parents.

"So the friend said: 'I will go and sleep there tonight and I'll carry a gun.' So he went to the place, and in the evening he started to cry and cry. At night when he was crying and crying, he lay in the bed but did not go to sleep. He had his gun ready.

"After a while he heard a great big noise, like a big rattle. It sounded scary. The snake came in the same track. When it got to the door, it kind of lifted up the rock and threw it aside. It had a big shiny horn and sort of blinded the friend, and its eyes were yellow shiny, and it was a great big snake. It was as big as a human being and its rattler was great big. When it knocked the

787 539 door down, the man shot it. It just writhed and he emptied his whole gun on it.

"He stayed there until the morning. In the morning he started to holler for the people. They saw this big snake and burned it up. They thought this man very brave."

787 Of equal importance with isolation was concentration of thought. "If," said The Boy, "while on the mountain top the quester was thinking about his wife or about other affairs, he would get nothing [no power] for he did not have his mind on it —If a person is playing cards he must keep his mind on playing else he will not win. In like manner, when a man was fasting out on a mountain he had to concentrate his mind on what he was after—He went there to pray, to ask for help for something above the human."

787 982 The first ritual act after arrival at the mountain top was the prayer with the pipe. This rite was described by The Boy and Thick as follows: "When a Gros Ventre went out in the mountains to seek power he always took along a pipe to use in prayer. He asked from above that the being who owned the mountain or hilltop would be commanded to grant this power. He took the pipe along to pray to the Supreme Being,—it was the idea that the Supreme Being ruled everything but his ruling was systematic or by plans. He seemed to believe that there were lesser beings who sort of managed [ruled] details of the whole situation. He [the quester] would start out, in his very first prayer [by praying] to the Supreme Being asking the granting of his petition, so that the one to whom he went, the one who owned or lived in the hill would be sort of forced or commanded to grant the power that was being requested. The pipe was first offered, with the stem pointing upward to the Supreme Being. Then the quester lit it and blew the smoke upward [toward the Supreme Being] and afterwards downward to the Last Child. But there was no comparison between the up and the down prayer. He held the stem pointing downward to the Last Child to give him a smoke. The Last Child was of the order of the killdeer [vastly inferior to the Supreme Being]. After giving the smoke to the Last Child in a sort of important way, he would offer the pipe to the hill, with the stem pointing not

787 [782] upward or downward but to the hill, with a ritual gesture and would make his request direct to the one or ones inhabiting the hill or mountain top and tell this one or these ones what [power] he actually wanted."

787 576 276 In all the above the quester was following the general ritual and social Gros Ventre pattern for making requests. Such was the ritual pattern in prayer with a pipe. And whenever a pipe was offered to a fellow-tribesman it was offered with the stem toward him. The offering of a pipe to another when asking something of him was an "emphatic way of pleading." Thomas Main here remarked: "If I wanted to borrow money of another and were afraid my request would not be granted, I might offer him a pipe when asking for the loan and so reinforce my request."

787 [782 304] Bull Lodge, when seeking power on a butte, made offerings of material goods and of the first joint of his left little finger. Little Man made offerings of a bit or bits of his flesh.

While up on the mountains the quester, alone and praying and concentrating his thoughts on his quest, would fast, neither eating or drinking, and would walk around crying, shedding real tears. He, or the man who had first accompanied him to the spot and then left him, would make a rude sleeping place of rocks and twigs and branches. This sort of "nest" was called his "call-for-power lodge." When the quester got weak or fatigued or sleepy, he would lie down in this "nest" and doze or sleep. Al Chandler stated: "Their [the quester's] sleep is not sound, any little thing wakens them. They are expecting something all the time and they look for it." Usually power was given during such sleep, although in some instances when the quester was wide awake. The power-giving being would speak to the quester and, usually at least, appear to him.

Sometimes a quester would be told by the being whose "house" was the mountain on which the man was questing: "Here is the kind of power I have. This is all I have. That other one [being] has the kind of power you wish. Go over there." And the being would name some other butte or mountain. Thus, for instance, a man going to a given mountain to seek wealth or war power might be offered doctoring power, and if he did not take this

787 latter he would be told by the offerer to go to some other designated mountain to get what he was seeking.

The length of time a man would stay out on the mountain varied, the range being apparently from one to seven days, and of course the nights too. Power might be given in full daylight as well as at night. Various informants mentioned one to seven days, five to seven days, seven days, two to four days, four days. Sometimes questers were given power the very first day or night; others, only on a later day or night; others still not on the first quest at all, even though they remained five or seven days, but only on a following quest or after repeated quests; others, finally, never got power, not even a dream, even though they went out over and over again on the hills to seek power. Great medicine men got their full powers as a rule only after a number of years of repeated sleeping around on high buttes.

The recipient of power ordinarily got three things from the donor: a song, instructions on the rites to be observed in using the power, and some material object which was a symbol, and/or instrument vehicle of the power.

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778 Singing, as we noted earlier (supra, p. 79), was originally gotten by the Gros Ventres from Earthmaker at the time of the great flood and was confined to sacred occasions. Later it degenerated and became secular as well. But among the birds and animals it did not degenerate; it kept its pristine sacredness. And these birds and animals and other beings would give their songs to questers for power, to each successful quester a specific song for his own use in exercising the particular power given at the time.

As The Boy explained it: "From time immemorial every Gros Ventre rite or ceremony began with song. . . . And when the Gros Ventres went out on the hills or to the forests to seek power and were granted a hearing and were going to be given power by rock, forest, animal or other creature, the granting always began by a song. . . . It was remarkable how they [the questers] could memorize these songs that were sung [to them] by these several creatures, and the recipients never forgot these songs and always had them foremost in their minds and never altered them in any way. Others of course, learned them from the one to whom they were first given, but always sang them the same unaltered way." 533

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An individual might have more than one kind of power, and hence more than one song. A doctor might have more than one doctoring song; Stiffarm, for example, had many. At any given time a great number of doctoring songs were in use by the many doctors. The four doctoring songs we recorded are only samplings. Only the person who acquired a power by quest or transfer had the right to sing the song or songs connected therewith except when requested to help sing with the owner at say a curing rite. A person who had acquired power songs could, if he desired, sing them in his lodge as bedtime songs.

The recipient of power was given and taught by the power-donor not only a song but also detailed instructions on other ritual procedures to be followed in exercising the specific power. These procedures will be described presently, in our section on power use and ritual.

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At the time when power was bestowed, the recipient also got some power object. Sometimes they were given to him directly by the supernatural donor; sometimes the donor instructed the recipient where to find or how to make the power object, or just told him what kind of object to use. This object was often spoken of as the medicine or power of the possessor. So far as we could discover, the object was conceived of as more or less identical with the power or as the tangible embodiment, vehicle or instrument of it. The power object was consistently brought into play when the possessor made use of his power, as will be described later. A recipient might obtain at any given quest more than one such object from the donor.

These objects,—such as a weasel skin, otter skin, root, and so forth,—were commonly kept by the possessor in a skin bag as the possessor's medicine bundle. The Boy made a gift to us of the badger-skin medicine-bag of his father, Lame Bull, who used to keep peppermint and a thunder-stone in it.

In many cases power objects were swallowed by the power-recipient when first given to him and were so retained within his body until he forfeited his power through breach of code or in-

778 struction or until just before his death. In the latter case, these 787 objects would come out of his body, usually his mouth, and if they were living things would shortly thereafter die, after which the person himself or herself died.

Thick's sister-in-law, an Assiniboine, whose Gros Ventre husband had been a sacred Pipe keeper, violated the rules by joining the Ghost Dance religion. Thick witnessed her death. "Just before she died, she said to her husband: 'Get me a dish.' She spat into it. We looked and found there a living (?) thunder-stone she had spat out. She spat again, and this time a little round rock. She spat a third time, a stem of fresh green peppermint. 'Now,' she said, 'I'll die. I have violated the rule laid down for me.' And so she died."

A coyote had given Al Chandler's adoptive father, Little Man, yellow paint to swallow. "I saw it," Al stated, "when Little Man was dying because it came out then. . . . It was about 2½ inches long and about 2½ inches around. It was pure white clay on the outside. It was like you make a dough of the white clay and put the yellow inside and roll the white over the yellow."

Stiffarm and Little Man's brother were also present when Little Man was dying and knew this paint would come out when he died. They said: "We will see what made this old fellow so powerful." So they took this roll of white clay and broke it open, and the yellow paint poured out. "The brother was one of those who did not believe in such things," Al added, "and he certainly was surprised."

In the course of the curing procedure as carried out by Sits Holy, a miniature bear would stick its paw out of his mouth and would growl loudly enough to be heard all around; as carried out by White Weasel, he pulled a little animal, his medicine, out of himself; as carried out by Good Singer, she hit herself on the chest and a bead, her medicine, came out of her mouth, and at the end of the rite she swallowed it; as carried out by Little Man, a hail-stone, given him to swallow when he received child-birth power, was later disgorged and given to his patient to swallow.[11]

Lame Bull had been given doctoring power, to be used only after a certain period of probation. He, however, broke the rule 778 and doctored before his time was up. A night or so after he had 787 doctored a spider came out of his ears and a thunder-rock out of his mouth, and so he lost his doctoring power.

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[11] The Crow Indians, The Boy stated, likewise swallow power objects.

Occasionally in connection with the power quest the right would 346 be given to the quester to paint his lodge in a particular manner.[13] 787 Among the Gros Ventre such sacred or holy painted lodges were relatively rare and were thought of very highly. We recorded one song (No. 88), a wordless one, which belonged with Bull Lodge's sacred lodge. Bull Lodge had been "invited" to quest for power at Baldy Butte, the highest peak in the Bear Paws. The being who gave him other powers also bestowed upon him his own lodge, with instructions how to paint it and the song to sing while it was being painted. Coming Daylight's father had a sacred lodge around the bottom of which were painted the figures of men, each figure the same and each with a feather in the head. The upper part was painted red. "At the tip of the ears of the lodge were things hanging, and feathers in back. The back part had a cross (morning star) and the sun."[14]

What has been said in the preceding pages about the circum- 787 stances of Gros Ventre quest may be illustrated by the following account given by Al Chandler of that of Little Man, his adoptive father:

"When Little Man first went out to seek power, the old medicine man (his tutor in the matter) told him: 'I am going with you.' So when they got out in the hills, maybe a whole day's travel to this place where he wanted to go, this old man asked Little Man where he wanted to go to fast and Little Man chose a place not very far away. So they went together. This old man cut 801 his (Little Man's) flesh, took a pinch,—(some did it 3, 6, or 9 304 pinches), and prayed each time he cut a bit of flesh off. He told 782 Little Man: 'Nobody is going to come after you until your time is up. If I tell you three days, nobody is coming after you until this time is up. In the meantime use your whole heart and don't get scared. Don't let anything scare you away. Don't try to come down before that. Somebody will then come after you.'

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[13] There was a distinction between the sacred painted lodges and the lodges painted with war deeds. Cf. Flannery, 1953, pp. 68, 102.

[14] For illustrations of sacred painted lodges, see Plate 4.

"They get pretty weak from fasting and somebody has to come with a horse. They just pray and pray and cry and cry and sleep a little,—but their sleep is not sound, any little thing wakens them. They are expecting something all the time and they look for it.

"So Little Man stayed there for two days and two nights as he was instructed to do for this first time. They had gone up there pretty early in the morning and he stayed all the first day and towards evening he was kind of tired and his voice was kind of hoarse so he laid down and was lying on his back with his eyes shut and praying while he rested. After a while he got rested and got up and walked around and prayed and cried. He kept that up all night and didn't see anything or hear anything.

"Next day the same thing. Towards noon, not quite noon next day, he was lying face down and he heard something, just like something puffing, coming towards him. He said he knew right away what it was because from what he heard old people say, the bear when it travels puffs a whole lot as if it is out of breath. So he knew it was a bear. He didn't pay any attention. He just lay there and kept praying and praying. The bear went in a circle right around him. Pretty soon the bear came over. Little Man had a little oblong nest outlined with rocks piled up about two to three feet high, and open toward his feet. This is called his "call-for-power lodge." After the bear had come around several times it must have sat down because Little Man didn't hear him any more. He wasn't supposed to look up to see what it was that came to him, because if he did he might get cold feet. You just have to take whatever it is and just think hard about the power you want.

"So when the bear came over he put his paw right on Little Man's head. He went away again and soon after he came back again and put his paw on Little Man's back just at the level where his heart was. The bear went off again and Little Man noticed that he went straight back from his head. The third time when he came back he touched the soles of Little Man's feet. He went off again the same way and not so very long after he came back and this time he sat down towards the opening of the nest about 10 or 12 feet away from it. The bear told him: 'Get up now. Sit up.' So Little Man did and the bear said: 'I heard you. I have been listening to you why you are here. I pity you and I know what you want and it is just me. I will give you this power. This medicine I am going to give you, this root is for the sickness caused by a gut getting plugged with a seed or something you eat.'

"Little Man thought: 'I wonder how I will know what this medicine is, and how I can get it.' The bear knew what he was thinking and told him: 'No. It will be like this. You look around and see all these hills and landmarks and all, but it is not like this. But some day you will be at the place. I don't know when or where, but when you are there you will recognize the place and you will get this root. I will show it to you when you are asleep. I will show you the place where the root is, the lay of the ground, and how the plant of that root looks. I will come to you in a dream.' The bear held his paws out in front and said: 'One of these (pointing to his claws) I will give you.' So he told him just what he could use this claw for: 'If you think this root medicine won't work by making beverages, you can use this claw to kind of operate with." So he got all that from the bear. First when he saw this bear sitting, the bear was painted from his brows over the forehead and head and the bear said: 'That is where you should paint when you doctor anybody, and this claw you must wear on a buckskin string over your shoulder and you should always have the point out.'

"Little Man was honest. He never faked and everybody liked him. If he couldn't cure you he wouldn't want anything. He would wait before he took what a person paid because he wanted to see if the patient was really well.

"A year after this in the summer he got this same old man again and told him what he was going to do, that is that he wanted to go out again and asked him how many days he would advise him to go this time. This old man told him: 'Well, I will tell you. It all depends. You know there are many ways to get this medicine power. You are old enough to know that. Lots of times these young men, when big clouds come before an electric storm, go out in different directions and cry out there and pray. Well that is one

787 way. If you want to try that, do it one day and that is enough.' So the old man told him: 'Let me know this evening what you think of it, or if you have already made up your mind what you want to do.'

787 821 "The old timers could pretty well tell you what kind of weather you are going to have. Little Man said: 'Well I would like to go our right away today. But I don't think there is any chance of an electric storm. I would like to try that.' So the old man said: 'Well, I will see if I can find any signs of a storm or not.' He looked all around everywhere like he was looking for something. The sky looked clear. He stood there for a long time and looked around. Pretty soon there was a small cloud coming up and he said: 'You are a lucky man. You watch that cloud. I think there is going to be a big electric storm and maybe hail too. Do you think you want to try it?' Little Man said: 'Yes, I will try it.' So the old man told him: 'Now you want to be very brave. Don't let anything bluff you, because there are very few who can go through with it. It is something harder to bear.' Then he said: 'You have to be perfectly naked. You go anywhere on those hills you want. Take off your clothes and go now because the storm is coming now and it won't take long for it to get here.'

787 "So Little Man went home and took off all his clothes except his moccasins and put on a blanket or robe. He then went out, and the electric storm started from the distance with rumblings and lightning. There were a couple of other young fellows out there and he could hear them crying in different directions from him. Just as he got up there, it was just like lightning right over his head and thunder all around. He cried all the harder and didn't think of getting scared. He took off his moccasins and blanket and walked around crying and praying.

"While he was doing that, all at once great big hailstones came and it certainly hurt him. He had bruises all over him. When the hail was just over he laid down, kind of tired, and just a little while after that somebody told him: 'Take that hailstone there right by you and swallow it.' He looked and sure enough there was a big hailstone right by him. He was not to chew it but to swallow it whole. He took it and thought: 'Well, if you tell me

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to do that I guess it will be all right.' He did it and it went down easily. Then he was told: 'You go to sleep. I will tell you what this is for.'

"So he stayed out there and fell asleep. He saw an old fellow, grey-haired, coming who could hardly walk he was so old. This old man told him: 'That which I gave you is going to be all in your line. You are going to be a medicine man. This medicine is for those women or girls who should not have children for some reason; they are afraid or don't like to go through that and they always want help from somebody if anybody can do anything for them to keep them from having children. You will have to use your own judgment on that. If you think that a woman shouldn't want to do anything like that, if she is strong and young and should have children, you should not help her. You just tell her that you haven't got anything. But there are some who really need that kind of help. They are weak and won't make good mothers. Those are the ones you should help. That is what I give it to you for. I give you just one [hailstone] but every time you use it there is always another one. All you have to do is to sing the proper song (this person taught him the song, but I do not know it) and just take that hailstone from your body, that same one you swallowed, and give it to this woman to swallow and she won't have any children after that.'

"Little Man used this medicine twice and he said he didn't know where it came from but each time he used it [the hailstone] there was another one there for use the next time. My mother's sister's first child pretty near killed her and she was one he worked on. Another woman came to him who was in the same situation and he gave it to her and she never had more children. Lots of times women came to him, but he knew it was not because they were too weak to have children, but were just women who liked to run around and he didn't want to help that kind. This person who gave him that power had told him: 'When you are giving that thing to the women whom you help, paint yourself red from half your eyes up your forehead and head; below that paint all yellow.' If he would not have painted, the power would not have worked. If he omitted anything it would have been no good,—like if he didn't sing the song, it would be no good.

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787 "The following summer when the real hot days, probably July, came, he went out and fasted and prayed and cried. He had gone to the same old man and asked him and the old man gave him three days and three nights this time. So he went out and took one of his friends with him to help fix the rocks and to take his clothes home. They don't have a thing there, even any weapons. They wear the g-string, but no clothes.

"Anyway, Little Man went for this three-day and three-night crying. After they got everything ready, his partner went back home and had been told to return on the fourth day in the morning. So Little Man started in the same thing and all that day nothing happened. Of course he had little short dreams, but he didn't think anything of those.

"The second day in the morning when it started to get hot he was lying on his back resting, with his eyes shut and he was praying. He felt something crawling over him. He felt it ice-cold and rough right across his breast, but he didn't move. He just kept on praying. He knew what it was from the feel of it, it was a snake. So he started to tell that snake: 'Old Man, don't feel bad because I am not going to accept you. It isn't because I don't want any of your power, or I don't like you, or I don't want you to bother me, but there is something else that I am here for.' So this thing went over on the other side and Little Man opened his eyes a bit and sure enough the snake was coiled up about three feet from him. It was a big rattlesnake and he kept on talking to him and pretty soon the snake went away. After a while he got up to see if it really did go away. Of course he was scared of it, but he didn't let on.

"So he started in again crying and crying but nothing happened all day until that night. It was kind of moonlight and he could see that either a coyote or a wolf kept coming around him but it didn't come very close, only just close enough for him to see it. Along toward dawn of the third day this coyote started to howl close by him and it would go around and howl at four different places in the circle. He got up again and started praying and crying and when he got tired he laid down and fell right asleep. He was all in. Way in the afternoon this animal woke him up.

He was just all in by this time and couldn't talk or cry. When he tried to cry he made only a weak, faint noise. This animal told him: 'My name is Mountain Coyote. That is what my friends call me. Well, I heard you. I have been around here. Maybe you didn't notice me but I have been here. What is it you want? Although you have said what you want, I want to hear you talk. What is it that you want?'

"So Little Man said: 'There is one thing I am working for. I want to be an honest medicine man. I don't want to take anything that would fool people. If you want to give me anything I want it to be honest.' The coyote said: 'That is me. I want to be honest. If I give anybody anything I will give it to them in an honest way. I am not going to cheat people or fool them.' Then he told Little Man: 'Stand up.' And the coyote sort of sat on his hind legs and he said: 'Take a good look at me.' Little Man looked at him and the coyote would put his paw to his mouth and blow and he started painting himself all over, first the right paw, then the left, and was painting himself all over a bright yellow, with real yellow paint. When he got through he blew on his paw again and rubbed from side of his eye back towards his ear, first on the right side and then on the left, with white clay. So he said: 'There is lots that I am going to give you. You have been here going on three days now and I will give you all I have. Now first I am not going to tell you what medicines you are going to use because you will see them yourself what to get and where to get them and you will know for what sickness they will be. I will give you seven persons to cure. Even if the sick person is just toward the end of his life, and is taking his last breath, maybe an hour or two before he dies, you are going to bring him back. You can cure him. You have to have a lot of pity for them before you can do that. You cannot say just because that person over there is dying I will go cure him. No. It is not like that. They have to come and ask your help.' So he told Little Man just what to do: 'You have to paint like you see me. I give you this song' (he taught him a song). Then the coyote gave him what he was supposed to keep and Little Man had to swallow that."

OTHER MEANS OF ACQUIRING POWER

787 778 While in the majority of instances power, as initially acquired direct from power-giving beings, was gotten by quest, in a considerable minority of cases, it was so gotten in first instance without quest.

A man might be offered power, without quest on his part, when away hunting, or war raiding as in the following given us by Singer.

"A bunch of young men went afoot on the warpath. One of them had a pain in his leg, and it was so bad he could not travel further with the party. So they fixed him a shelter of wood, like they used to make, so he would be warm, and gathered some water in little paunch bags and hung them there, and piled up a lot of wood and dried meat, and left him there.

"He got so bad he couldn't even move his legs. As he slept he dreamed that a lot of little children came in and they had a boss. So the young man said: 'Where are you going? I am having a hard time with my leg-ache.' 'I had pity on you,' said the boss, 'so I came,' and then the boss added: 'I will give you my body [that is, Singer explained, I will give you some power]. As long as you live you will never have children, but I give you this,' and he gave the young man a little horn spoon and showed him a root, and said: 'When a woman is going to have a child you can always doctor her. Just one drink and the baby will be born.'

"When he woke up he found he was cured, so he hurried and caught up with his friends. They were surprised.

"This young man called his dream visitors 'little children,' but they were really 'ghost men.'" This is the only instance these beings were ever known by either Singer or Coming Daylight to have helped anybody.

Powers of various kinds were acquired without quest by keepers and co-keepers of the Flat Pipe and Feathered Pipe, as previously described. Not the least of these was doctoring power. Bull Lodge, for instance, was a medicine man before he got the Feathered Pipe; "But," Al Chandler added, "even if you were not a medicine man before you got the Pipe, you would be after you got it."

We recorded no instance of women going out in the hills to fast and cry for power. Coming Daylight, when asked about the matter, just laughed, and said: "they [women] never go out like men do." Commonly women were offered doctoring power in dreams at home, as in the several instances already noted. Singer was once offered power after she had made a sacrifice. Sometimes a woman was offered unsought power when wandering around outside camp or on the hills during mourning or in anger at her husband. 787 778

"Sometimes," said The Boy, "a woman would get angry at her husband and would go away and wander around alone, not fasting but eating when she could and drinking. Sometimes such a woman would get power. Something or some animal would take pity on her and give her power. . . . Sometimes too a woman who had been captured by the enemy would make her escape and on her way back home would sleep out alone and would acquire power . . . a woman does not ask [by questing on mountains] for power. Power comes to her. When mourning for relatives and sleeping out [away from camp] and suffering without food, somebody might take pity on her and give her power without her asking." "Women," remarked Singer, "When they lost a loved one, would go up into the mountains and cry themselves to sleep, and that is when a lot of them would get power."[14]

Like women, very young children did not go out on the hills to fast for power. The occasional very young boy or girl who got power got it without formal quest. Coming Daylight's offer and refusal of power at the early age of eight years has been previously recorded. The Boy mentioned one case in which during a smallpox epidemic all the members of a certain family died except two children, a boy and a girl. The two children continued to stay alone at the spot. A bear came. The girl, after the two returned, became a "holy" woman.

Keg, the boyhood friend of Lame Bull, The Boy's father, was given power, without his seeking it, one early morning while he was out looking after the family horses. The boy, then only about ten years old fell asleep and dreamed he saw a big hand game going on for high stakes and one fellow taking all the winnings. On

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[14] For examples, see Flannery, 1953, p. 206.

787 778 looking more closely Keg saw that the fellow was he, Keg, himself. The fellow said: "Do as you see me doing here. Use my throat as an object (button) to hide." Then Keg woke up and saw nearby a covey of prairie chickens at their mating dance. Keg was so given gambling power by the prairie chicken(s), and was a very successful gambler, from that time on.[18]

778 424 425 Acquisition of power directly and in first instance from a power-giving being gave the acquirer right of exclusive ownership and use of the power. The power was a gift from the being to the human individual, and became the latter's property to be exclusively held and used by him, as would any gift given him outright by a fellow Gros Ventre. The owner could however transfer it, in most cases, by sale or gift. The Boy and Thick explained the main features of the system as follows: "The individual who acquired the power, and he alone, would use it. He would not part with it unless someone bought it from him. . . . In case of purchase he would teach the buyer the secret of how to use the power. Then too the owner of the power might transfer it without remuneration to one of his children if the owner lived to old age and had [living] children; he might do this rather than have the secret of the power die with him and do no one any good." On other occasions The Boy, speaking particularly of doctoring power, further explained: "While a doctor had many power songs, no other doctor had a right to sing these songs, unless the doctor-owner transferred his power to the other. . . . If someone else knew what plant a given doctor used and tried himself to use it, he could not get results, because he would not know the songs and rites to use with it. . . . Even though he should know the songs and rites as well as the plants, it would have been very wrong to try to use them. . . . Only the one who had [acquired] the power had the right to practice it. If everybody had been free to practice it, there would have been no use for the doctor to have gone through such hardship [fasting, etc.] to acquire it."

Power acquired in first instance as a gift from a power-bestowing being, although exclusively owned by the recipient, could be under certain conditions, to be described as we go along, transferred by gift or sale, loaned, or delegated. 778 424 425

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[18] For further details, see Flannery and Cooper, 1946, pp. 407-08.

Individuals who had personal ancestral helpers practiced no kind of transfer, loan or delegation. After all, such helpers were in no sense "owned" by or the property of these individuals. The concept of the ancestral helper is fundamentally different from that of power in this as in most other respects.

While we obtained records of many instances of transfer, by sale or gift, of war, doctor, and love power, we obtained none of transfer of gambling power. Whether it was transferable at all is a point we could not fully clear up; more probably it was not, but at any rate actual transfer either did not occur or must have been excessively rare. According to The Boy: "Nobody wanted their [gamblers'] power. It became so that it was non-transferable. . . . There were some [possessors of power], and among these was the gambler, who would not transfer."

A transferee could not, so far as we could discover, retransfer power by sale or gift to a third party, except perhaps power to be lucky, especially invulnerable, in warfare. Our field data on this point are slim.

While women sometimes, as we have seen, got power direct from power-giving beings, very commonly,—"mostly" The Boy stated,—the powers they possessed were acquired by transfer from men, or from women.

Initiative in transfer could be taken either by the owner of a given power or by the party wishing to purchase it.

When power was transferred either by sale or by gift, the transferrer carefully taught the transferee all the songs, rites, objects and taboos that pertained to the power in question.

So much for transfer in general. We now turn to certain aspects, first of transfer by sale, and after that of transfer by gift.

Transfer by sale of doctoring power, at least of major doctoring power, was, according to The Boy and Thick, uncommon; that of love power, rather common.

A man who had by quest acquired doctoring power could transfer it by sale to a maximum of four people. After the fourth transfer, he, according to The Boy, "would have exhausted it so far as he 778 425

778 425 himself was concerned, he had transferred it all away," and "had made himself negative again," that is no longer subject to the penalties of power possession. This first possessor was, so long as he kept his power, "a big fellow, but after he had transferred it to the four other people [men and/or women], there were now four big people, and he was such no more, so far as power was concerned and had no right even to sing the songs [proper to this power]. He was right where he had started [before acquiring this power]. The four could then go on and do just what he did when he alone possessed the power and they could [each, apparently] scatter it in four other different directions transfer it to four others." Such multiple diffusion by transfer did not, it seems, proceed far in actuality. "Scholars," as The Boy explained, "may all go through the same school under one great teacher, but seldom if ever do they all equal the teacher,—maybe only one, if any, will. So not all who got power by transfer were successful with the power because maybe they did not do or avoid doing all that the transferrer told them to do and avoid doing. So after a while the transferred power just died out."

832 778 425 Love power, or love medicine serving as the vehicle of power, could, however, in contrast to doctoring power, be transferred by the owner, at least the original one, to any number of people. It could be "transferred without limit and sold. The things," The Boy added by way of comment, "that were better for social life were limited. Love medicine [or power] was limitless, unless the possessor stopped gathering the root or bark or whatever it was he used to do his stuff."

Whether in cases of transfer by sale of doctoring power by a man to a woman the granting of sex intercourse by the woman was always and *de rigueur* the payment or part of the payment, is not quite clear from our field data. But that it was not uncommonly required is beyond question; in cases of man-to-woman sale transfer of love power, it was very common, in fact the usual thing, and seemingly more or less *de rigueur* to validate the transfer. When a woman sought such love power from a man who possessed it, she would watch her chance when his wife was not around and secretly carry out this part of the bargain. If the transferrer were

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a woman, one of her adult male kin might be chosen by her to 778
have sexual intercourse with the woman transferee. 425

To judge from the many anecdotes in circulation about this sex element in transfer payment, anecdotes dating mostly from quite recent decades in the memory of informants, it was a very common topic of gossip and of grapevine communication.

Transfer of power by gift, appears on the whole to have been 431
much more common than transfer by sale. This accords with the 778
general Gros Ventre pattern of transfer of other kinds of property. The Gros Ventre sold little; he gave much. Property changed hands within the tribe much more by donation than by barter.[16]

Gifts of power were made either to relatives or to friends, and while the giver still had his or her health, though perhaps of advanced age, and not ordinarily at least, on his death bed. A number of cases of offer to transfer by gift doctoring and love power during the possessor's lifetime have been previously given. War power, according to The Boy, "was commonly given, without payment, to a son or brother." "War medicine," according to Al Chandler, "was passed down from generation to generation; Bull Lodge gave his sons (Curly Head and Otter Robe) their war powers. Curly Head was a medicine man but Otter Robe was more of a warrior. Little Man, my adopted father, had some kind of war medicine from his brother, when his brother got killed Little Man took this medicine (a sparrow-hawk and a shirt) from him to keep [428]
it, and to use it."[17] While war power might pass down in a family, we obtained no clear instance of such transmission by inheritance proper, in the sense of transfer to take effect only upon the death of the transferrer.

Our data, all from The Boy, on loan and delegation of power, 778
as distinct from outright transfer, are meager. "An owner of power 426
to be lucky in warfare so as not to be shot could lend this to somebody, and if the owner were going to die he could tell the borrower to keep it." "Sometimes, when a man with medicine power was appealed to come and doctor somebody, he could say to his wife:

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[16] For details, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 80-87.

[17] Some of Bull Lodge's war medicines are illustrated in Flannery, 1953, Plate 3; cf. also p. 92.

778 426 'Wife, I transfer this power to you. You go and doctor this time. I don't feel like doctoring today.' But before this she would have always accompanied him in his curing practice and knew exactly what to do and sing." Such a "transfer" was purely an *ad hoc* delegation, not a surrender of his power.

Power could be completely lost by the owner either during his lifetime or at death. During the owner's lifetime it could be lost by persistent disuse, by complete and final transfer through sale or gift, by "using it up," and as a result of breach of the rules. Where, for instance, a man had power to cure only a limited number of people, say four, with the conclusion of his fourth cure, the power was "used up" and so ceased. A certain Gros Ventre who had power to cause rain and storms made much use of it in a battle with the Crow but finally used it up and was killed by them.

If a person with power had not transferred it, on his deathbed the power embodied in or associated with some material object or living thing within him would come out of him, usually out of his mouth, and so his power would die with him. Even though the root or medicine he had used but had not transferred was known to others, they would not be allowed after his death to use it in curing. Thus lots of good medicines were not used, even though they were known to be efficacious.

USE OF POWERS

778 We now come to rites and procedures followed in the exercise of powers for war, gambling, love and various miscellaneous purposes, including legerdemain. A consideration of the use of the very important doctoring power is reserved for separate treatment in a subsequent chapter.

The great majority of those who went out in quest of power sought power to be great warriors and to become wealthy. The two aims were ordinarily closely related. A major goal of most war parties was the acquisition of horses,—the chief wealth of the Gros Ventres in the old days. Both success in war and possession of wealth brought prestige, and such prestige in the individualistic competitive culture of the Gros Ventre was eagerly sought after. [721 556]

War power usually included both a positive aspect, outstanding 778
success in killing, wounding and capturing enemies and in taking 721.
booty, especially horses, and a negative one, luck in escaping injury. Little Man's brother had power to make his horse run so fast in war that no other horse could overtake it.

Those who sought wealth power asked mostly to have many 778
horses, not to be poor, and "to get things easy without much effort." 556

"My grandmother's brother," Coming Daylight related, "the
first Crow Bull went to McCann Butte in the Bear Paws to sleep. 787
The people were camped at the bottom near the lake, and from an opening in the mountains on the other side of the lake they saw a lot of white horses come to the lake. Crow Bull was told in his dream: 'These are all your horses.' It is claimed that everybody else saw them too. After that Crow Bull always had white horses. People gave him white horses and he brought white horses home from war."

Cora Chandler had heard a similar story about Bear Nose who slept at the same spot. He saw (in a dream, probably) a lot of prairie dogs and was told: "These are your horses." Cora commented: "I knew the day when Bear Nose had only buckskin horses,"—of the color of prairie dogs.

On both the preceding cases, the two men who got power only to own all these horses, although, Cora thought, Bear Nose also had lots of other powers.

As regards war-power ritual we gathered only a few details, 778
mostly from Al Chandler regarding his adoptive father, Little
Man, and from Garter Snake regarding her father, Bull Lodge. 721

Little Man got from his brother who was killed in battle the latter's war medicine. The brother's power objects were: the dried skin of a sparrow hawk [Flaco Sparverius] with the head, claws and feathers; a shirt, tailored like an ordinary shirt, but kept painted yellow all the time and with "little holes all over it even on the sleeves and with hawk feathers on the shoulders and some on the back." The yellow paint and holes presumably symbolized the predominant rufous and buff coloring and spotted belly and sides of this fast flier. When the brother went to war, he would put this dried hawk skin on his back, and take a "little fuzzy feather" from the wing and tie it on his horse's tail, and the power

778 721 would make his horse go so fast that no other horse could catch up with it. Little Man himself did not go out war-raiding, but once when he and some of his people while on a journey were waylaid by Piegans, he used the hawk medicine as his brother had done, and in the fight no Gros Ventre casualties occurred but three Piegan were killed. In later days, Little Man put a feather [525] from this hawk on the horse Smokey, an entrant in the two-mile and mile races at the Fair, and the horse came in first in both races within less than an hour, while Little Man won $75.00.

Al Chandler added that "every man's war medicine was different" but gave no further details.

Garter Snake told the following story of Bull Lodge's power in the war-wealth field. "Otter Robe, his son, once came in, there being a lot of young men in there, and said to his father: 'Father, we are going out on a war party and we want to steal horses from the enemy. Could you help us so the enemy will not be able to see us and we will have luck to get these horses?' Bull Lodge replied: 'All right. I will try to see if I can. If I can I will tell you.' So he told his wife: 'Get that wooden bowl and that colt hide [objects he used in his practice]'. He smudged them four times, then set the bowl down and covered it with the colt hide, and they put out the fire. I was sitting there beside my mother. . . . When my father got through, we heard nicks and neighs of horses in that bowl. We did not see anything [any horses] but only heard them, and Bull Lodge said to his son: 'You are going to be lucky. You will get the horses.' Then he removed the colt hide and there [in the bowl] was horse manure. This he took and gave to Otter Robe and said: 'Take and dry this. And when you go out [on the raid] and get to the enemy's camp, make a smudge of a certain thing, take the manure, pulverize it, and sprinkle the powder all around the smudge. If you do this and go into that camp, the enemy are not going to see you. You can steal all the horses you want. And after you leave with the horses, there will be a big fog in that camp, so that the enemy cannot see you or follow you.' And that is what happened. The raiders got horses and brought them home, and the fog protected them."

778 525 Gambling power was gotten only for use in the old two-button hand games. So far as our evidence goes, the possessor could use

his power only when he was an active participant in the game. 778
Keg, who had gotten gambling power from a prairie chicken, 525
would, when using this power in a hand game, imitate the hissing, swishing noise made by the prairie chickens when they ruffle their tail feathers. He had been given by the prairie chicken its windpipe to use in the hand game, and for this he made use of a small metal spring resembling the windpipe. Red Whip, famous for his great gambling power, used a weasel skin in exercising this power. A player with power who was losing in a game might half seriously voice an appeal: "What is the matter with you, prairie chicken (or ghost)? You are failing me."

Only certain songs could be sung in a two-button hand game; [533
others, such as doctors' songs or medicine lodge songs, could not 784]
then be sung. If one of the players had a gambling power song, gotten in a dream from a prairie chicken or ghost, he would start singing it and others would join in. Gambling songs were sung in fast time to the accompaniment usually of small hand drums, the players marked time by striking with sticks the logs that lay stretched in front of each team. After a game was well under way, in the excitement, grunts would often take the place of songs.

We recorded two gambling songs for the old hand game, numbers 107 and 108, as sung by The Boy.

Love power, more common than gambling power, was acquired, 778
by quest or transfer, to attain various ends: by a man to secure
sex favors from women who were reluctant to grant them, or 832
who had not only rejected his advances but had privately or publicly met them with insult;[18] by a jilted lover to win back the jilting man or woman; by a man or woman to win over a desired but unwilling prospective marital mate; by a wife to win back the affections and fidelity of a husband who was running around with other women.

We could obtain very little information on the rites carried out when love power was used. Our chief informant on love power, The Boy, had been offered it on various occasions but had never accepted it, so had not been told the ritual procedures to use, procedures about which the possessors of love power were ap-

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[18] See Flannery, 1953, pp. 174, 193.

778 parently rather secretive. A root or bark designated by the being
832 that bestowed the power was commonly used, and in some cases a looking glass. A very little bit, just a pinch, of one root or bark was used at a time, and seemingly might be rubbed on a looking glass that was "all painted up and decorated."

778 Before concluding this section on rituals and procedures followed when the major powers—war, wealth, gambling and love—were used, some scattered data may be given on rituals and procedures used with other powers.

Lame Bull, The Boy's father, had clairaudience power from a crow. To use it he would rub his ears with earth, as the crow had told him to do.

Mary Ereaux related the following incident. "My brother-in-law, White Weasel, a great medicine man, once came with his wife in a wagon to visit me. I was busy in the kitchen and after supper came in to the front room, the bedroom, to visit with my guests. White Weasel would kind of groan and say how tired he was, but I didn't think anything of this. Finally, he said: 'My, I have been just dropping and throwing hints and I find I have a hard-hearted sister-in-law. I pretend like I am so tired and here she has three bottles of whiskey in her bedroom and she never offers me a drink. There is one flask that is half empty, a second with the seal unbroken, another in a black leather case.' I was so surprised that he knew all that. My mother told me he could see it but I knew he had not left that corner of the room. . . . This was really a proof of his medicine power." She added: "When White Weasel had a few drinks he would start singing tea dance songs. My mother could then hear a woman's voice singing with him. She said it was a good sweet voice. It was not his wife singing. She could not hear the voice nor could I. Once in a while you would come across someone who, like my mother, could hear it. It was like a vision which some see but which others present cannot see."

Chief Grass on one occasion, when a war party he was with was bothered by a poltergeist, took an arrow, rolled buffalo hair around the arrowhead, singed it a little and spat on it. Then he shot the arrow and subdued the ghost. "Chief Grass had power and this, it was believed, was his way of using it."

778 821 726 In two of the battles described by The Boy weather power was used. In one, when seven Gros Ventre warriors were surrounded in a piece of brush by a body of Crows and the latter set fire to the brush to rout the Gros Ventres out, one Gros Ventre, a quiet and unassuming man, "used a bone whistle and did other things," and shortly rain came and put out the fire. This man's war-charm, an otter skin, was captured by the Crows in this battle, and the Gros Ventres learned later from the Crows that whenever the latter mounted this otter skin trophy on a pole, as at a scalp dance, rain came with thunder and lightning. Finally the Crows got scared, carried the otter skin over on the hills and left it there, "and the thunder left them alone."

In another battle, this time with a party of Sioux, the Gros Ventres had taken a scalp, and were retreating, with the Sioux in pursuit. Morning-Star-Appears (Rising Cross), a Gros Ventre warrior who had a ghost helper, "sang a song, used a robe as cover to enclose himself and said, 'We wish rain.'" In no time a heavy cloudburst, with thunder and lightning broke, and the Gros Ventres,—among them Stiffarm, then a very young man,—escaped under cover of the rain and semi-darkness.[19]

778 Garter Snake, daughter of Bull Lodge, gave us the following story:

821 "The Crows were camping on the north bank of the Yellowstone when a May snowstorm came. It snowed four days and four nights, and the snow drifted far up the lodge sides and horse-high, except where blown clear on elevated exposed spots. On the fourth day, at noon, the Crows came to Bull Lodge with a pipe and some things. They offered him the pipe and of course he didn't take it right away, but said: 'What is this for?' They said: 'We know you are a holy man [one with power]. You [can] do almost anything and we are asking you to make this storm quit. If you don't we shall all perish.' He told them: 'All right, that is easy.' And they gave him that stuff: 'Here are the things we give you.'

"So he told his wife: 'Stand up a pole good and solid in the back of the lodge.' She did so. Then he said: 'Take down that shield.' This was the shield he had dreamed about. He then

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[19] See Cooper, 1944, p. 72.

778 821 smudged the shield and hung it up on the pole, then he got his Feather Pipe drum and started to sing. As he sang the third time, and of course prayed and went through the [ritual] motions, and a sun ray showed right on the shield. The Crows were in the lodge and they all saw this and they prayed. And he said: 'I have one more song.' So he sang the fourth one and after he got through he said to one of the men: 'You go out and see what has happened.' The man went out and it was still snowing but right in the heavens was a little round hole [clear spot] which gradually enlarged and the sun shone. That is how Bull Lodge cleared the weather."

789 We now come to use of powers of legerdemain. Such powers were ordinarily looked upon as "supernatural" in origin and nature. We have already given many illustrations of such legerdemain as integral elements in ritual power-use, we shall now give the illustrations of it as used in purely or predominantly secular contexts.

Such feats are attributed to various individuals. According to Mary Ereaux, Sits-in-the-Midddle on one occasion when the party was out of tea, "made tea for them and they thought that was great." An unnamed medicine man was reputed to be able to swallow a "chunk of coal" [probably hot embers].

The two most outstanding masters of legerdemain known to our informants were Bull Lodge (d. ca. 1886) and Stiffarm (d. ca. 1935). According to Al Chandler, Stiffarm got his legerdemain power from Bull Lodge, and actually his feats and procedures (such as use of a handkerchief) duplicate almost exactly Bull Lodge's so far as they go.

Here follows our fullest account of Bull Lodge's feats, as given us by his daughter, Garter Snake, with some details interpolated in parentheses, from Charles Buckman (CB) and Al Chandler (AC).

"When my father slept at Baldy [Baldy Butte, in the Bear Paws] . . . he was given the power of doctoring, and he was given wealth, and the power then to make tobacco, matches, sugar, tea, and even coffee. These are the articles he made. In winter time his sons would go out and get cherry brush. He would put

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that black cloth over it four times and then he would say: 'Take the rag off. There will be ripe cherries.'

("I heard stories about Bull Lodge. A storekeeper invited Bull Lodge one day in the dead of winter and said to him: 'I invite you for one purpose, I will give you tobacco, tea, sugar, blanket and so forth, but I want you to do something for me.' Bull Lodge said: 'If I can, I will. If I cannot, I cannot. If you ask me for something impossible, I won't be able to accommodate you.' The storekeeper said: 'All right, I am hungry for fresh cherries.' Bull Lodge laughed and said: 'I guess I can. You go out and bring me a cherry branch.' So he went out and got it and Bull Lodge said: 'All right, my friend, set it right there.' He then took that black handkerchief and covered this branch with it and talked and sang to himself and made motions and said: 'All right.' And he took it off and there were cherries!" CB)

(Little Man, my adopted father, once went with Bull Lodge to a store at Chinook. They were hard up that winter and wanted sugar, lard and so forth. He said to Bull Lodge: 'Let's go over to that storekeeper and get something out of him.' So Bull Lodge said: 'Yes, that is right. Let's go.' So they went and sure enough this fellow knew them well and they sat round a while and pretty soon he said to Bull Lodge: 'I am sure hungry for cherries.' Bull Lodge said: 'I won't make them for nothing.' The man said: 'Help yourself. Anything you want.' So Bull Lodge told Little Man to get the brush, a big bundle of it. So Bull Lodge sat down on the floor and did as I just described. So they were smoking and in the meantime Bull Lodge whistled the tune and said to the storekeeper: 'John, go get your cherries.' The man said: 'What do you want me to do?' He raised the handkerchief and his eyes almost popped out. Bull Lodge told him to take them and the storekeeper acted like he was afraid. He made Bull Lodge and Little Man eat some of them first. Bull Lodge," Al added, "was a goodhearted man who helped the poor and all that." AC)

("Bull Lodge could make fresh chokeberries for you in winter time. You would ask him: 'Could you make me some cherries? I am hungry for cherries.' He would say: 'Yes.' Then you would go get branches that were frozen and with no leaves on them and bring them to where he was. He would take them and rub his hand maybe four or several times and put them down about four feet from him. He always wore a black silk handkerchief and he would put this over the branches. He would then tell you: 'All right, make smoke and talk.' He would hum a song under his breath when he wasn't talking. You would smoke three or four times and he would say to you: 'All right. Get your cherries.'

("You know that in those days the whites used to make plug tobacco, either chewing or smoking tobacco. And that is what Bull Lodge used to make. He would go out and get a cutting of thick wood bark and whittle it to the size of a plug of tobacco and then he would make a smudge and smudge it four times and put it on his tobacco board. He would then spread over it the black handkerchief and light his pipe and blew on the handkerchief four times with one smoke. He would then take the handkerchief away and there would be tobacco."

("The same winter that Bull Lodge made the cherries, Little Man said to him: 'This is a poor winter, nobody has any tobacco. I have been all over but nobody has any, not even the store.' So Little Man told Bull Lodge he should make some: 'All right. Go out and get some cottonwood bark, [to make] whatever amount of tobacco you want.' So Little Man got the thickest piece he could find, of pretty good size. So Bull Lodge started to whittle it, cutting it like [a plug of] tobacco. After he had it all trimmed up he sized it up. It was about two fingers thick, three fingers broad, and two feet long. After he had whittled it all in shape, he put it at a distance of four feet from him and placed one handkerchief over it. They did not have any smoke, so they just talked while Bull Lodge hummed a tune on the sly. After a while, Bull Lodge said: 'Get your tobacco.' And there it was, Chinax tobacco, bags and everything. Little Man gave Bull Lodge some of it and divided it with his neighbor and then they all had a big smoke." AC)

"When Bull Lodge made matches, he would send kids to get him fall rye grass in a bunch. They would bring it and break it to the size of matches. Then he would tie these together with sinew. After this would make a smudge and sing and pray to himself and make a pass in the smudge four times. Then he would take these sticks and tap them in ashes four times, and when he was through he had those 'telegraph' matches. Everything was done openly [apparently without use of the handkerchief]." ("Bull Lodge could make candles out of rye grass, and this power and the power to make tobacco too, he gave to Stiffarm." AC)

"When Bull Lodge made sugar, sugar was high-priced and scarce. One day he asked his wife to make soup and she told him: 'We haven't any sugar.' He said: 'I will get some.' She asked him: 'Where will you get it?' He said: 'Never mind where I am going to get it. I'll get it.' So he got up and took down that bag that belongs to his Pipe and also a wooden bowl, made smudge twice face up and twice face down (sic), but did not put anything in the bowl. He just set that thing down, put that black handkerchief over it, took the pipe and smoked and blew smoke towards it four times, and the fourth time he blew smoke he took that cloth off and there was white sugar.

"Bull Lodge could take any kind of dish and smudge it and set it on the ground and he would cover it with this black handkerchief, and in this case [when he made green coffee berries] he was talking and making signs and the fourth time he came down and removed the handkerchief, and there were berries. 'In telling all this,' Garter Snake, now a practical Catholic, interpolated, 'I have been telling you what my father told me about himself and in addition what I have seen him do. May the Lord have mercy on my soul!'

"One year in the spring when there were still snowbanks on the hillside, he told one of his sons: 'Go get me a ball of snow.' I did not know what he was going to do with the snow. So the boy rode horseback and brought back a ball of snow and said: 'Here is your snow, whatever you are going to do with it?' My father, after he got the snow, made a smudge and smudged his hands four times, flattened the snow with the palms of his hands, kind of made signs over it and talked. After that he put the black handkerchief over his hand and worked the other hand, rubbing it, and took the handkerchief off, and there was one of those pretty sea-shells, and he gave it to one of the boys.

"This is about hail. Bull Lodge took that wooden bowl and made a smudge and did [sic] with his hands and inhaled the smudge with his mouth four times and smudged his arms four times. He

789 then told his wife to put the bowl under his mouth, and he grabbed himself by the waist and shook himself, and out of his mouth came hail and filled the bowl."

Information on Stiffarm's feats was given us by The Boy, a close friend of Stiffarm, and was corroborated in part by Al Chandler.

"Stiffarm," said The Boy, "used to make needles out of blades of grass, tobacco out of bark of trees, and candles out of pigweeds, the stems of which are hollow." "Stiffarm could take a blade of grass, break it in two, and strike it like a match. . . . I saw him turn sand into brown sugar. . . . Once at the old Agency south of Chinook, he visited our home. My mother gave him something to eat but he said: 'Get a half cup full of sand.' She did, and brought it in. Stiffarm said: 'Give it to me.' She did. He had on a black muffler. He untied it, folded it in a narrow strip, and put it on his lap. Then he poured the sand along the muffler and covered the sand with the flaps of the muffler. On his hat he had a yellow painted down feather. He untied the feather and passed it over his mouth horizontally four times, then horizontally over the sand four times. Then he said to my mother: 'Use this to sweeten your tea.' She unfolded the muffler and there in it was brown sugar."

Some who had gambling power were also skillful at legerdemain. According to The Boy, in the course of a hand game, such a one would make an object "go in his hands, through the veins of his arm and come out somewhere else, or go through his skull and come out of his mouth . . . or he swallowed it and drew it out of his body . . . or he blew it to nothing." Red Whip (d. 1912) in a game played about 1873-75 between some Gros Ventres and Flathead, took a button, threw it in the air, and challenged the Flathead champion, Crazy Child, to find it. Crazy Child failed to locate it. Then Red Whip showed him the button embedded in one of the lodge poles and told him to pull it out. Crazy Child tried to do so but without success. Then Red Whip pulled it out easily.[20]

Contests between possessors of legerdemain power sometimes occurred, although it would seem, not often nor at any set times. The Boy told the following story of Stiffarm:

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[20] See Flannery and Cooper, 1946, 108-09.

"Stiffarm used to be accused of doing harm to people through his power. He would never defend himself or say anything about this. On one occasion a group were drinking whiskey and some of Stiffarm's brothers-in-law were there. Brothers-in-law joke [banter] each other. They said: 'Let's have a contest of power. The one who has the least power will buy the drinks.' But Stiffarm said: 'No. I'd rather not.' The others thought Stiffarm was a little scared. They insisted. Finally Stiffarm said: 'All right.' So he took a piece of otter skin in his fingers, held it up, sang four times, and blew on it four times. The fourth time, he blew hard and the piece of otter skin disappeared. Then he said: 'Where is that otter skin? Look for it.' They could not find it. Then Stiffarm got up, walked to the iron stove in the middle of the room, and there was the otter skin half buried in the side of the stove. Stiffarm said: 'Here it is. Come and get it.' But no one dared to do so. They were all afraid. Stiffarm then took it without effort, and said: 'Now, the Gros Ventres have blamed me for causing some deaths by using my power. That is not true. But if I really wanted to do so, I would use this otter skin, and the one I used it on would not live long.'" 789 754

V

CHAPTER VII

CURING PRACTICES

756 A good many Gros Ventres through quest or otherwise acquired doctoring power. To give a better idea of it we shall need to see it against the larger background of native concepts of the cause and cure of illness.

CAUSES OF ILLNESS

753 Some illnesses were ascribed to solely or mainly natural agents or agential causes, others to supernatural ones. The line between the two types of causation is not, however, always clear.

753 784 Sometimes supernaturally caused ailments followed automatically from the breach of taboos, others were inflicted intentionally by non-human or by human agents.

Marrow bones were not supposed to be broken inside a lodge or house, and a person who transgressed this taboo would suffer from sore legs. The penalty of fits, cramps and paralysis from certain actions to or by keepers of the Flat and Feathered Pipes has been previously noted.

753 776 The chief sender of sickness, particularly of epidemics such as smallpox and measles, was the being, Atsa:. This being appears likewise to have had something to do indirectly with other ailments, but exactly what part he had in causing such ailments could not be cleared up by us. The intrusion of pathogenic objects into the body to cause illness was not attributed to Atsa: personally.

Malevolent spirits,—whether ghostly or other is not clear,—would cause illness by "shooting" people, that is, by projecting some small object into the body of the victim. To the maleficent activity of these spirits was also ascribed mental derangement, at least in some cases. One such mentally deranged woman was once seen by Coming Daylight. This woman who was getting along in years became deranged all of a sudden. Coming Daylight, with the consent of the woman's husband, went to her lodge and peered in.
753 158

"The woman had everything, like blankets and dishes and so forth, 753
stuffed in between the poles and covering of the lodge. The woman 158
herself was on the ground, crawling around and making motions
with her hands as if she were working at something on the
ground." Coming Daylight did not know if or how the woman recovered from her derangement because shortly after camp was
moved and the people scattered.

Coming Daylight gave details of another mental case, that of a young man who wandered off from camp, tore off his clothing, cut his hair off short, and came running back fast to camp. The people noticed his wild look, grabbed him, and picketed him. He was "raving mad." Later he used to go into the brush, cut sticks until he had a large bundle, and carry the bundle around with him until his death. Some people were afraid of him, but most were not. Coming Daylight did not recall his ever scaring her or her children. He would ask in a kind of pitiful way for something to eat. He would visit a while and then just rush out of the lodge or house.

Thick gave us details of one case of illness of doubtful origin. 753
The illness had started one night when Thick and an inseparable boyhood friend of his were coming back to camp together. They were walking on a flat together, and heard behind them a sound "like somebody dragging a robe or something stiff." They thought it was a ghost and started to run. After a bit they stopped and looked back but could not see anything. They decided it must be a ghost. So they started walking again, and pretty soon they heard the same sound. Of course they then ran. Thick's friend then had a feeling as if somebody were grabbing the hair up on his head, and looked back and said: "Stop! Here is the fellow who is chasing us."

It was a great big owl dragging its wings. From that time on
he got worse, and died soon after in 1889. Thick thought that the [754]
scare got that night brought on the illness. The doctors who treated
the boy claimed he had been "doped" [bewitched] by someone.

Grave or fatal illness could also be brought on by human beings, 754
usually those with doctor power, through sheer wishing or through other procedures, or even, it seems, by human without supernaturally acquired power through concentrated wishing, as will be explained in detail later.

So much for what we have called the agential causes of disease, the impersonal forces and personal agents, external to the victim, which were thought to be responsible for illness. In addition, some illnesses at least were believed to be due to specific proximate instrumental or physiological causes, internal to the victim.

One disease, apparently appendicitis, was thought, in recent days, to be caused by a "gut getting plugged by a seed or by food,"—a theory most probably taken over from the whites. One case of tuberculosis was ascribed to the permanent cessation of menses after the woman had borne her third child.

Various diseases were attributed to some small object, such as a sliver of wood or a finger nail, that had been projected with malicious intent into the victim's body by some human or preterhuman being or that had otherwise found entrance therein. In particular the disease called "cut away," wano:'wa, probably cancer, was caused by the presence in the victim of a kind of "bug" or "animal," roundish in shape, and with a big mouth. This "animal" would move around within a person and "eat his insides." Bad Bull, a medicine man who had power to cure "cut away," used to extract from his patient such an "animal" of green, yellow or black color. "The black ones were not so bad," according to Singer. According to The Boy, Bull Lodge whom he knew well, in his doctoring for "cut away" would take out such an animal from the belly of his patient. The animal on one occasion at least was about four inches long, seagreen on top and whitish on the belly (or green on one side and white on the other, according to Garter Snake) and without legs or eyes. About one half the animal was mouth, with no teeth, however, in the mouth. In one cure, Bull Lodge ripped open the animal after extracting it and showed the onlookers what was inside it. "It was full of blood, with some things floating around in this blood." Bull Lodge claimed that this animal, unless extracted, would "eat up the sick person's liver or some other part of his insides" and so kill him. He used to say that this animal caused all stomach troubles.

Garter Snake described one case of a woman suffering from rectal hemorrhage caused, as was revealed at the time of her cure "by a blue thing inside her that 'looked like a rock and was as big as a man's fist.' When put on the fire it broke open and was just a shell. It must have been some kind of animal with a thin shell." 753

The concept of soul-loss as resulting from or accompanying sickness in certain cases was present. "It was held by the old people," The Boy said, "that a person's 'soul' was not inside his body or any organ thereof, but was near or around him. As a sick person got worse, his 'soul' kept getting farther and farther away. If it got too far away, he died. When a person was very sick, people would say: 'His soul is leaving (going away from) him farther and farther."[1] In brief, soul wandering or "soul-loss" was a preliminary to death rather than a cause of disease. We obtained no evidence that the concept of soul-stealing entered at all into Gros Ventre pathology. 753 774

TREATMENT OF ILLNESS

From the causes of disease we now pass to the treatment thereof. While some ailments and cases of illness were thought to be due to natural causes, and others to supernatural causes, the line of demarcation cannot always be sharply drawn. Likewise as regards the prevention and treatment, in some instances they were clearly looked upon by the Gros Ventres as of the purely natural or "rational" order, in others equally clearly of the supernatural order, in some few seemingly of both orders combined, in a few others of uncertain order. While the Gros Ventres quite explicitly distinguished in general theory and in certain specific cases between natural and supernatural prevention and treatment, in actual practice at times, and in many specific cases, they drew no sharp line between the two orders. In the following pages we shall take up first natural or "rational" prevention and treatment, secondly combined or doubtful types of treatment and lastly supernatural types. In general remedies and preventives fall into three more or less corresponding classes: "domestic" remedies known to and freely used by everybody; certain remedies more or less "rational," exclusively owned and used by particular non-profes- 755 757

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[1] The soul was believed to "kind of leave" a person under stress of great fear. Cf. Flannery, 1953, 92.

755
757 sional individuals; supernatural remedies used only by professional medicine men or women with power.

NATURAL REMEDIES

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515 Both preventive and curative measures of the natural or rational order were numerous.

The most common preventive measure was the daily early morning plunge in the stream or roll in the snow by men, a practice carried out for hardening the body as well as for cleaning
[731] it. In small epidemics scattering and isolation were regularly resorted to in order to check the spread of the disease. The use of skunk fluid as a curative was more a Cree than a Gros Ventre procedure, but there was a Gros Ventre belief that skunk fluid diluted with water and put into the eyes of a person was a preventive and cure of snow-blindness. A mother, on knowing herself
[862] pregnant again, would cease nursing her infant lest it suffer from "bad stomach and diarrhea." Drinking the blood of a freshly butchered buffalo was looked upon as a preventive of tuberculosis.

757 Curative measures of the rational order were of many kinds. We recorded the following, but our list is far from exhaustive. All of them may best be classified as "domestic remedies," measures of common knowledge, resorted to by everybody who wished to use them, and not considered proprietary right of particular individuals.

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278 Many herbal curatives came under this category.[8] The roots of "sweetheart briars," so called because the burrs stuck so tightly, were used for colds, and the deeper the root the stronger was the medicine.[9]

An infusion of peppermint is now used as a beverage by everybody for "fits, spasms and stomach disorders," although the medicinal use of peppermint was formerly the monopoly of Flat Pipe keepers. A very strong drink was made by boiling a certain root and just a little of it drunk as a cure for difficulty in urination.

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[8] Cf. list in Kroeber, 1908, pp. 224-27. We made no attempt in the field to get a full list of such herbal and other curatives.

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[9] The Piegan, according to Coming Daylight and Singer, used these as "blood medicine."

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"Many people," The Boy remarked, "had died of this ailment as they were ashamed to tell they had it." According to Mary Ereaux, "a lot of times children were born with poor eyesight. If a fellow [adult] in those days had sore eyes he would be ashamed of it. It would have been a kind of disgrace. They had a kind of tea which they used as an eyewash."

For colds, the root of a briar, a plant with burrs smaller than "sand burrs," perhaps the "sweetheart briar" mentioned above, was chewed and the saliva swallowed. For "colds and sore throat, and teeth and bones," a bit of the root of a plant called "tastes-like-pepper" is broken off and kept in the mouth.

For head colds and headaches a snuff is made of the root of a large plant called "sneezer or pacifier,"[4] which grows up in the Rocky Mountains, and when snuffed up "it clears your head and mucus comes out. Every time you sneeze it kind of brings your cold out in a sweat."

Several plants used as fumigants or infusions for or by the mother before or after childbirth are described elsewhere.[5]

For children's dysentery (usually occurring in summer) and piles, Coming Daylight used a root called "stomach ache medicine," a root "which runs close to the surface of the ground." When one of her grandchildren "had piles from this summer dysentery" she heated a flat rock, saturated a cloth with water, sprinkled the medicine thereon, put the cloth on the hot rock to make steam, and held the child over it with its buttocks close to the steam. She also made a "tea" of the root and gave it to the child to drink. One treatment cured the piles. Coming Daylight remarked that she "wouldn't be without this medicine." This particular herbal curative is perhaps peculiar to her, and not in general use.

A curative called "fish medicine,"[6] "an old, old medicine," is a plant that grows in the water and is brought in from Minnesota.

"White medicine" has many curative uses. It is made from a "sort of sponge" [fungus] growing rarely on pine trees. When people find it, they throw stones at it and, being "kind of soft,"

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[4] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, 226.

[5] See Flannery, 1953, pp. 136, 138.

[6] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, 226, naw'asoo—for colds.

757 278 it drops off. It is powdered before use. Mary Ereaux' mother used it, on a warm rag, for chickenpox. It was first gotten by a man who saw it in a dream and it said to him: "I am good for everything, to drink and to use externally too." It was this man who spread the knowledge of this medicine.[7]

For diarrhea a tea was made from the boiled roots of rose bush or cherry bush and drunk. For asthma and hay fever the vapor from juniper berries put in a pot of boiling water was considered helpful. Sage, in the very early days gathered and used only by sacred Pipe keepers, was later used by everybody: being rubbed and smelled for headache; the leaves especially the top ones, boiled and drunk for colds, coughs and tuberculosis.

The little daughter of Singer's husband, Iron Bucket, was "poisoned" [bewitched] on one occasion, when Singer was present, from some meat broth she had taken. After taking some of the broth, the little girl remarked "M-m-m this tastes funny." While Iron Bucket was telling stories, the little girl would interject from time to time the single word "moose." Finally she had a fit. They then gave her a lot of warm water as an emetic, and after she had vomited several times she recovered.

Raw liver and blood from a freshly butchered buffalo were considered as a cure for tuberculosis. Mary Ereaux' grandmother had told her that people would go after a man who had just butchered a buffalo to have him dip bits of the manifold in the warm blood and to have the children eat it as a delicacy.

Beaver oil from the oil sacs was used as medicine but we obtained no details.

[841] When a woman in her menses, or one who had been with a man the night before, entered the lodge of a sick person, the latter grew weaker. To protect the sick person fumigation was resorted to. Powdered beaver castor (always kept on hand if available, for this purpose) was put on live coals in a pan, and the patient without any clothing on, huddled beneath a blanket over the smoke so that it went all over the sick person's body.

757 Blood-letting was a common procedure, purely "rational" with no magic-religious element at all in it and calling for no "power"

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[7] Cf. Kroeber, 1908, 226.

in the operator. It was resorted to for various ailments; tuberculosis, dizziness and "logginess" were specifically mentioned by our informants. "If the ailment were located somewhere above the waist the patient was bled at the elbow joint on the upper surface of the arm; if somewhere below the waist, on top of the instep." One arm might be opened in spring, the other in the fall. In the procedure described by the Boy, before the incision was made, the patient would put his hand on the ground and hold his arm rather rigid, while the operator squeezed and at the same time rubbed down the upper arm until the blood vessel at the bend of the arm bulged. In a slightly different procedure described by Singer, the patient's upper arm was tied very tight and "the blood was worked down;" then the large blood vessel on the upper side of the elbow joint was pierced with a very sharp chip off an "onyx stone,"* and the blood would spurt out; when the patient was sufficiently bled, a bit of buffalo fur was scorched, put over the incision, and kept in place without any dressing. By bedtime everything would be "okay." 757 [752]

Certain individuals, such as Thick's wife, and Woman Chief, were more skillful than others at bloodletting. On one occasion Singer's husband said to her: "Come on now. I want you to bleed me." She started to do so but "just had to yell," at which he said: "Why anyone would think that it was you who were going to bleed." Coming Daylight was still more reluctant to perform the operation. "In fact, I could never do it," she said, "because I cannot stand the sight of blood."

A tattoo-like surgical treatment was described by Coming Daylight, although Gros Ventres did not practice decorative tattooing. "For a while," she said, "it seemed like my hand would come unjointed and I could not use it very well. They took a bunch of needles and pierced my hand where it was hurting me. They told me: 'Now if you don't eat anything fried, it won't turn blue.' After piercing my hand they put some root on it, and it never got sore." She added: "They do that to the head, too." [304] [262]

Lancing of the gums of children when teething, elsewhere de-

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* Singer showed the stone she owned from which the chip is struck. It was a shiny black one, but we did not identify it.

757 scribed was, so far as we could gather, done by non-professionals as well as by professional doctors.*

752 According to Coming Daylight, one old woman whom she had apparently known in her earlier years and who was suffering severely from "cut-away" gave herself successful surgical treatment. She was in great pain and sometimes could not pass water or food, and besides her grown son had just been killed in battle. In her suffering and bereavement, she went out in the hills, taking with her a big heavy sewing needle, and saying: "Well, my son did not come back. Why should I keep on living." While out in the hills, she pierced herself in the stomach with the big needle, drew out the "bug" that was causing her illness, and pounded it on a rock. After that she got well.

Other surgical or quasi-surgical treatments were resorted to in case of bites by snakes, ticks, lizards, muskrats and wolves.

If you have been bitten by a rattlesnake, the procedure, according to Thick, is to take a horse hair, hold it taut in both hands, run it back and forth to locate the teeth [sic] left by the snake in your flesh, and then pluck out the teeth. If this is done at once after you are bitten, you will suffer no harm.

When Coming Daylight was a little girl, something big, thought by her to be perhaps a large tick, attached itself to her head behind the ear. The other children with whom she was playing held her and just knocked it off with a stick, and then her grandmother put medicine on the spot and the bite gave her no further trouble.

Singer described the case of a woman to whose left arm a little lizard had attached itself and was "sucking the skin." They just cut the lizard off. Coming Daylight was once bitten on a finger by a muskrat which kept its hold and nearly bit her finger off. Finally she poked a stick in the animal's nostril and gave a jab, and it wriggled its legs and let go. She still feels pain in the finger when she holds it in a certain position. According to her, too, people say that a wolf would sometimes "turn crazy" and enter the camp. All the people would then shut themselves up tightly in their lodges, but sometimes a person would be caught and bitten, and would go around as if "drunk or crazy, wild like the wolf." One woman, whom she knew, was so bitten, right on the mouth by such a "crazy wolf." The people held the woman tight, and when the wind was from the north faced her into it. Then they made a smudge of wolf fur and made her smell it, and so cured her. This was the customary treatment for such cases, after it, "the patient is not crazy any more." 752

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*Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 142.

The enema syringe was not known to The Boy. A smooth stick and/or grease might however be introduced into the rectum, when other curative measures failed. 757

For various ailments massaging was used by non-professionals as well as doctors with power. When Thomas Main was a boy, suffering from growing pains, he would lie down near the old women who were smoking and they would spit on their hands and rub them on his legs. A sick person, into whose lodge a woman in her menses had accidentally entered, would be massaged all over with beaver castor to keep from growing worse.

Two kinds of thermotherapy were recorded, warm wrappings and the sweat bath. When Coming Daylight's sister was recovering from smallpox, she was "one solid scab." To hasten recovery, her grandmother used to heat dry cloths and wrap them all around the girl.

While the sweat-bath was predominantly a magico-religious rite among the Gros Ventre, and often used or prescribed by professional doctors, it was sometimes—how commonly we could not determine—used by the laity as a purely rational curative procedure. Mary Ereaux' mother "always used to go in" to the sweat-lodge, keeping her head out. Other old women would keep head as well as body closed in. Coming Daylight used to go into a sweat-lodge and sweat when she "had rheumatism so bad I [she] couldn't move." Singer had built many sweat-lodges for her ailing husband, but she added: "they did not seem to make him feel any better."

On one occasion four Gros Ventre warriors, on their way up north, got into a swamp, shot down a queer-looking animal, like a buffalo or a "water-animal" [a moose?]. They ate the liver and it made them faint. When they came to, they built a sweat-lodge and sweated four times—perhaps in this case as a magico-religious procedure, our field data are not decisive.

757 Thomas Main's grandfather would, from time to time when not feeling well, drink a large quantity of fairly warm water, perhaps two or three quarts, before eating breakfast. He would then go outside, put his finger in his throat, and vomit. This means, instead of a physic, was resorted to as a laxative.

As soon as the first thunder of spring was heard, a person with warts would blow on them and they would come off. This was apparently looked upon as a "rational" treatment, though it was possibly of the magical order.

The following cure, related by Coming Daylight and Singer,
158 was of the natural order, but came about without intentional treat-
726 ment. A young unmarried man, inseparable friend of Dressed In
755 White, Coming Daylight's husband, had become mentally deranged. He would tear off his clothes and when they would catch him and put clothes on him he would run till he ran into the water. He would run everywhere, and would climb up the sides of lodges to the top. This condition lasted not very long before his cure in battle. Some Gros Ventres, including Dressed In White, Coming Daylight and the young man, while camped at Black Butte (now Havre, Mont.), were attacked by some Assiniboine. With all the noise and shooting, the Gros Ventre horses stampeded. Dressed In White ran with his gun toward the stampeding horses, and, as he did so, saw one of the enemy fall in their midst, try to get up, and fall again. Dressed In White shot at him three times and then his gun would not go off and in his anger at it he smashed it on the ground. At this juncture, the young man came along, and Dressed In White said to him: "Hurry and grab that enemy. He is trying to get on a horse." The young man ran over, grabbed the enemy by the hair on either side of the head, threw him to the ground, and held him there. The Assiniboine had a knife but no gun and was trying to get up, buttocks first. Another Gros Ventre, Cuts The Rope, now ran over and shot the Assiniboine, and all then hit him, counting coup on him. From that time on, the young man was quite cured of his mental derangement, or at least showed no more symptoms of it, but he was shot to death not long after by another Gros Ventre. "By getting an enemy single-handed this young man had become a big chief and could have lots of lovers."[10]

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[10] Women admired brave young men. See Flannery, 1953, pp. 190-91.

Before closing this section on rational treatment of disease certain points on care of the sick may be added which have an indirect bearing on curative measures proper. 758

As a rule, the sick were well looked after by their relatives and friends. Encouraging words and hopeful good wishes were expressed to an ill person and these helped recovery. If the patient voiced a desire for any particular food this would be procured if possible. When on one occasion Singer's very ill husband expressed a wish for roseberries, an old man visiting him at the time rushed out, picked a big bunch of them and brought them back at once. Singer seeded, mashed them up and mixed them with tallow and set before her husband a bowlful of them which "he went after as if he were starved." The next day when some friends were visiting him he remarked: "I can't get enough of that roseberry soup." At this, one of them hastened out at once and brought back a large quantity. A little before this another friend had prayed at his bedside and wished him good luck. "Those prayers and that soup," added Singer, "seemed to bring him out of his illness. They made him strong." When Al Chandler's boy, Jimmy, had typhoid fever, and said he was hungry for plums, Mrs. Stevens went a long distance to procure them for him.

According to Al Chandler, "no matter how sick a person may be, there is always one rallying point, just before the end, when he wants to eat. When a person had no more chance to live, the Gros Ventres would fix him (or her) up, put on his best robes, and paint him up ready to die." [763]

Occasionally, in the old days, a sick person might be abandoned. "The Gros Ventres," Coming Daylight recalled, "were moving southward across the Missouri River. Before crossing it they left behind a Gros Ventre woman and her two- or three-year-old girl baby. The woman was very ill. They left her and the baby in a little shelter. They sort of threw her away. 734

"Some time after that the Crow happened to travel that way and crossed the Missouri from the south at the same place. There they saw the baby walking around in the bush . . . she would eat roseberries and pick up grasshoppers and eat them after breaking off their legs. The woman in the shelter had died and was beginning to smell.

734 "The Crow knew the child was a Gros Ventre, so they took her along and caught up with the Gros Ventre camp. After they had eaten, they called all the Gros Ventres to listen. One of the Crow was standing there with the child. I was small then. I went and listened. Using the sign language he said: 'You folks were very mean to this child and her mother. The child was pitiful and somebody took pity on her. We picked her up and are going to keep her. We won't give her to you.'

"So this girl grew up with the Crow . . . . she did not like the Gros Ventres and she took her mother's name . . . I do not know to this day why the mother was abandoned. She had no husband at the time they left her. The Gros Ventres," Coming Daylight added, "abandoned old people and babies."[11] [847 888]

Proprietary Remedies

757 So far we have been dealing with preventive or curative measures of the "rational" order known to and freely used by anybody and everybody. We now come to those exclusively owned and used by particular individuals only. These proprietary remedies fall into two main classes,—although the dividing line was not always sharply drawn,—accordingly as they were owned and used by non-professionals with little or no supernatural power or by professional medicine men and women with well recognized supernatural power. Such proprietary remedies, as owned and used by non-professionals, seemed to have been looked upon as of either the "rational" or supernatural order. Those owned and used by professional doctors as, in the main, of the supernatural order. We shall now take up these two classes, first, proprietary remedies used by non-professionals.

Coming Daylight emphatically insisted that she was not a medicine woman, not a "holy" person. "Some people try to pray through me, they lay their hands on my head and pray for something, as if I were a 'holy' person. But I am not. I do not claim to be a medicine woman. I never go around doctoring others. I just keep them (remedies, as infra) in the family." Her mother's sister, 757 Good Singer, had a ghost helper and was also a "real" doctor or medicine woman. Coming Daylight was given by Good Singer three kinds of medicine, including headache and stomach ache medicine to use for her own children and grandchildren. Coming Daylight also was given by her maternal grandmother who "knew all kinds of medicines," three medicines to hasten childbirth, to bring the mother's milk, and to cure stomach ache. Coming Daylight has used these within the family to doctor her children and grandchildren, still had them, and, in accordance with her grandmother's wish that they be passed on, was going to pass them on to her granddaughter whom she reared. If she should use any of these medicines for patients not of her family they would have to pay her, else the medicine would not be effective.

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[11] For other cases of abandonment, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 76, 132, 189, 198-99.

One of The Boy's daughters, without quest, perhaps in a dream, was given curing power which she used only within the family. She would treat her mother and the children for pains and aches by pressing and massaging.

Possession of such proprietary herbal and other remedies gotten by gift or dream, with or without quest, and used by non-professionals within the family or other limited circle may have been much more widespread than the above meager field evidence might imply.

Before we pass on to the consideration of curative powers 757 possessed by professional medicine men and women, it may be 824 well at this point to record the ritual observed in the gathering of plants for medicine, whether or not the gatherer possessed supernatural curing power proper.

This ritual was observed in the gathering of medicinal plants only, not of berries, wild turnips and other plant foods. The proper time to gather medicinal plants, or least some of them, was the fall. Coming Daylight's grandmother told her: "You don't want to pick anything [any herbal curative] until the seeds drop, because it would be like destroying a body." Not everyone had the right to gather medicinal plants, at least not all kinds. Certain herbal curatives at least could be picked only by those who had been given power, through quest or dream or through transfer.

757 824 Some evil such as sickness or death would befall an unauthorized gatherer. When the right to gather a particular medicinal plant was transferred, the transferrer would take the transferee out and show him or her the growing plant and tell the name.

When a medicinal root was dug, some offering, such as a bit of tobacco or a necklace of beads, was put in the ground in its place, or in the case of gathering "white medicine" [fungus?], was placed alongside the tree. In making this offering a short prayer was said. The content and wording of the prayer differed from individual to individual. According to The Boy the gatherer would take the bit of tobacco and pray with it, saying, "I am going to use your medicine." "Your" would have reference to the Gros Ventre concept that the medicines while gotten immediately from a bear or rock or other inferior creature came ultimately from the Supreme Being. His name would be mentioned first in the prayer and so acknowledged as the one to whom all things, even these roots, ultimately belonged. The Last Child would be mentioned last and would get some share in the tobacco offered.

According to Singer, "When we take a [medicinal] root, we say: 'I give you this. I am putting something in your place. I didn't take you for nothing!' We talk like we are talking to a person. Most Indians have the same way." Coming Daylight who was present explained: "We are talking to Our Lord and we never leave out the Sun," and apparently the Last Child was included. She further explained on another occasion: "When they dig the [medicinal] root, they have something to put in place of it and they say: 'I am taking this. Have pity on us. Whatever way I may use this [root], may I be successful in my work.' Then they cover over the hole made by extracting the root. It is kind of buying it like." "Then when you have some of this medicine and pass it on, the receiver gives you something for it."

DOCTORING POWER

756 What kinds of power did professional medicine men and women possess? In attempting to answer it, we wish to emphasize that while certain individuals (such as Stiffarm) who effected cures, were definitely recognized as professional doctors with super-

natural power, and certain others (such as Coming Daylight) at the other end of the range as non-professional, the one type graded imperceptibly into the other, no sharp dividing lines existed, and many individuals who effected cure could on equally good grounds be classed with either the professionals or the non-professionals. We could discover no recognized criteria by which the two classes could be clearly and in all cases be distinguished.

A professional doctor was called näta :nhehi, and this word was used only for professional doctors, or be :tänhehi, used for a "very powerful" medicine man or one with a painted lodge. This last term was a generic one for "holy" or "sacred persons," including Pipe keepers, persons with ghost helpers, medicine men, and "everyone who had any kind of supernatural power."

Professional medicine men and women were not organized into any kind of society or guild. Each operated singly and on his or her own.

Some medicine men and women, such as Black Raven (a cousin of Coming Daylight) and his wife, were general practitioners for "any kind of sickness like common colds," without any specialty. But most doctors, however, were specialists, with power to cure only certain diseases or in certain circumstances. There were many different kinds of doctors, each a specialist in only certain specific fields. One, for instance, could cure facial paralysis; another, rattlesnake bites; another, venereal disease. Some got special power to foretell the sex of unborn children or to prevent or promote conception. Thus Bear Nose had gotten to be such a doctor and also to have many horses by sleeping out on the mountains. He was told that he himself would have no offspring. One young man got power to help women who were going to give birth, but was told at the same time that he would never have any children of his own. Coming Daylight herself was offered in a dream the power to "know children," that is, to give medicine to women to prevent conception, but she refused the power. Some had power to help prevent or promote conception at will.[12] Another doctor had

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[12] For further details on powers connected with childbirth and contraception, see Flannery, 1953, pp. 128-29.

756 power to cure "some kind of gland trouble;" others, to treat "a bursting blood vessel."

A professional doctor was under certain limitations, restrictions and taboos, and liabilities.

756 787 The being or beings who gave doctoring power would at the same time warn the recipient not to begin practice at once. "If," The Boy stated, "a person accepted the offer of medicine power, he would be told not to begin doctoring for so many years, but to keep his power a secret for the time being. . . . It would be known that a given man was sleeping around on high buttes. After a number of years he would declare his time was up, would keep his secret no more, and would start to practice. But even then very powerful doctors would usually not reveal who gave them their power." Coming Daylight, it is true, thought the recipient could start practicing at once, but Singer and Al Chandler were quite positive that deferment was required. According to Singer, "the one who gave the power for medicine would tell the receiver when he or she could start curing. It would usually be after at least four years." According to Al Chandler, "they [power-giving beings] give them [recipients] so many years to pass before they can do medicine work."

Lame Bull lost his doctoring power as a result of doctoring before his years of "probation" were up. The wife of the brother of his "best wife" was ill, and this wife threatened to leave Lame Bull unless he doctored that woman. Under such duress, Lame Bull agreed to doctor her, and he cured her. After he did so he was told in a dream that he had lost out and would not be a doctor because he had doctored before his time of probation or deferment was over. A night or two after, a spider came out of his ear and a thunder-rock out of his mouth. Lame Bull was not keeper of the Flat Pipe at this time.

In some instances, at least according to Coming Daylight, "when a man got some doctoring power he would tell his wife. . . . She would be the one to call her husband's power to the attention of others."

756 Supernatural power to cure very grave illness was often bestowed under limitations as to number of cases. Thus White

Weasel was given power to cure only a limited number of cases; 756 Goes Back, a medicine woman, was granted power to cure only one case and she used it to cure Coming Daylight's husband, Little Man; Al Chandler's adoptive father, *also called Little Man*, got power [from a coyote] to cure seven persons at the point of death, but used it in only three cases. There were no limitations ordinarily, it appears, on power to cure minor ailments; a professional doctor, Cora Chandler stated, "could do other little doctoring as often as called."

Doctors, as The Boy expressed it, "had to live restricted lives, 756 to avoid doing certain things or eating certain foods, somewhat 784 like keepers of sacred Pipes." According to Al Chandler, one was forbidden to eat buffalo heart under penalty of death, and "certain medicine men people tell about were vulnerable only in one certain spot,"—in one case the man's big toe, in another, a spot on his shoulder. This latter doctor always wore a little circle of willow wrapped with weasel skin over this spot; he was wounded badly but, until that spot on his shoulder was hit, was not killed. The donor of power might warn the recipient never to let anyone do some specific thing to him. Thus Little Man, Al Chandler's adoptive father, when he got power was warned by the supernatural donor: "Never let anyone pull your hair. Here however, is the remedy. If there is anyone present when your hair is pulled tell him to make a smudge of sweet pine, then put it near your nose, and if you can sniff it you will come through safe, otherwise you are a goner." Actually Little Man's death, as Al Chandler told it in detail, occurred shortly after a quarrel with his wife in the course of which she pulled his hair. Little Man quit fighting and sat quiet. Two or three days later he was down sick. White and Indian doctors were called in but none could do anything for him. Al Chandler went to stay with him but he did not want Al there. He wanted to die and did not want Al to talk him out of it. In a little while he was dead.

Doctors, or at least some of them, got power not only to cure 754 but also to cause sickness and to kill, poison or otherwise harm people. Some other doctors were believed to have used such lethal power, although such use was definitely looked upon as a crime to be avenged and also entailed supernatural punishment. As The Boy put it, if a medicine man were not "a strong man, an ideal man, he might resort to this killing power he had. But he would pay dearly for doing so, because for everyone he killed in this way he would pay by the death of one of his children or relatives, and finally by his own life." According to Singer, "if a person knew who had 'shot' him, he would want to get even with him. If someone put medicine on another, he [the killer] would have to pay for this deed by losing one of his relatives, such as a child or grandchild, through death. It was not good to do that [kill by medicine] because he [the killer] always had so to pay."

Good Singer, when on one occasion she cured Singer's husband, named the person who had caused his illness. Singer herself was once cured of an illness by White Weasel. The latter told her that "it was not a spirit that had shot her but it was a living human being, but he did not mention the person's name." Coming Daylight's husband, Little Man, at one time suffered severely, until cured by a medicine woman, Goes Back, from pain near the heart and from hemorrhages. "He and everybody knew that a certain bad man had caused the illness by putting medicine on him. Goes Back told him that this man had done so because he thought Little Man was going after his [this man's] wife or going with her."

Mary Ereaux recalled and reported one such case involving a cousin of hers whom a medicine man wanted to marry. The girl's great-grandmother would not let the girl go. The girl died, "poisoned," it was believed, by the medicine man, and he himself died soon after.

There was a good deal of fear among the people of such evil supernatural power but so far as we could gather, not the pervading widespread ever-present dread and suspicion of witchcraft that are found, say, among some of the Indian peoples of the southwest. Apparently most doctors who had power to harm seldom or never used it. Various instances of such use were told us, but they all were attributed to only two or three of the many doctors known to our informants. And one of these two or three was specifically described as "a goodhearted man who helped the poor and all that even though he would harm you on the sly but always in some way the truth would leak out."

A doctor with power to harm might use it if he were "jealous 754
of someone better at medicine than himself," or if he "didn't like someone," or if "a woman refused to live with him."

We got very little information, and this from only two informants, The Boy and Thomas Main, on how and from whom power to do evil was obtained. According to Thomas Main "bad medicine could be acquired sleeping up on the hills, and was used to do evil." The Boy gave a few more details. "Most of the time power to do evil was gotten by fasting and sleeping on the hills and mountains. It was gotten from some animal or other creature. The animal would teach the recipient how to exercise the power and would also tell him: 'If anyone makes you mad and does not respect you, do so and so and harm him.' It was hard to tell who had evil power, until they exercised it." In at least some cases, then, power to harm was given the recipient of other power, as in the case of keepers and co-keepers of sacred Pipes (cf. pp. 52, 60-61), to enforce respect for the recipient. Whether power to harm was always given for this purpose incidentally to the giving of other power, we were not sure. If we assume that this was not the case, and if sheer power to bewitch could be gotten independently, a logical conflict with the fundamental Gros Ventre conception of supernatural power emerges. For all power was conceived as coming ultimately from the benevolent Supreme Being (cf. supra, pp. 5, 7). We do not, however, press the point. While the Gros Ventre magico-religious belief system was a remarkably consistent one, especially as described by The Boy, one hundred per cent consistency is another matter. After all, gifts of power, even though ultimately from the Supreme Being, were gifts with a string, namely, shortened life to the recipients. The Supreme Being preferred prayer to power-quest (supra, pp. 264-266). The problem is here presented and discussed; it has not been solved by us.

Most doctors had to have some mastery of legerdemain. In the 789
everyday exercise of their curing powers an integral feature, for example, was extracting from the patient's body the object that was causing the disease. Some doctors, in addition, quite independently of their medical practice, had special abilities of clair-

789 voyance and prophecy, and particularly of wonder working, such as making sugar from sand, matches from grass, and so forth. Some feats of legerdemain, integral and non-integral to curing procedures, have been described in detail. While skill at legerdemain was possessed, as we have seen, by individuals with ancestral helpers, by at least one famous gambler, and probably by other non-medical men, it was especially common among professional doctors. It was, in most cases and by most of the laity believed to be a supernatural gift and, of course, served to give corroborative evidence to the laity of the genuineness of the curing powers of the practitioner, to enhance his (or her) prestige, and to keep and extend his clientele.

EXERCISE OF POWERS

756 Each doctor in curing practice used his or her own distinctive rites. Certain rites and observances however were commonly followed by many or all doctors. These more common rites and observances will be described first, after that, some examples of distinctive ones.

The ordinary procedure to engage the services of a doctor for a given case was to go to him (or her) and offer him a pipe filled with tobacco or tobacco mixture. Acceptance and smoking of the pipe by the doctor,—and in accord with the general Gros Ventre pattern, the request with offer of a pipe could hardly be refused,—meant that he agreed to take the case. Sometimes just tobacco was sent or brought to him. In certain instances, too, where petitioner and doctor were related the pipe offering could be dispensed with. Thus in view of their relationship, Al Chandler related that he asked his adoptive father, Little Man, on a given occasion to accept a case without the pipe offering. "I did not have to have a pipe. My father would do anything for me, pipe or no pipe."

"It was important," The Boy explained, "how you handed the pipe to the doctor before calling him. Before approaching him, you would ask around: 'How do you hand the pipe to so-and-so?' A number of doctors might have the same way, but not all had. If no one knew [for a given doctor], then you would ask the doctor

himself and he would say: 'Hand me the pipe stem first,' or 'bowl 756
first,' or 'sideways,' or 'lay it on the ground.' Some doctors did not require a pipe, but only tobacco, when they were asked to treat a case."

Lame Bull did not require a pipe, but he had to be called four times. Each time the petitioner would start from the patient's lodge, go to Lame Bull's lodge, open the flap of the door, and, without going inside, say to him: "I am calling you to doctor." This was a procedure peculiar to Lame Bull, who at the time was not a Pipe keeper.

The doctor commonly had a helper or helpers to assist at or in the doctoring,—his wife often, or certain men and women specified by the doctor. Not infrequently these latter were relatives of his.

The rite itself was "sort of private." Only the doctor, the ap- 755
pointed helpers, the patient and the patient's immediate family 756
were allowed to be present. "People would not be allowed just to drop in" during the curing rite. Two guards were (or might be) stationed outside the lodge to keep people away. Intrusion by anyone during a curing rite might render the rite futile, and lead to grave consequences as illustrated in the following cases reported by The Boy.

"A young man was about to be doctored. Just as the rite started 756
a man came to the lodge and said to the two guards outside: 'I have the right to go inside. I want to see this great doctor.' They let him enter. As he did so, blood gushed out of the doctor's mouth, and the doctor said: 'Carry me back to my lodge as quick as possible.' When he got there he said: 'Fill up a pipe quickly and give it to me.' He then took a few puffs, fumigated his hand and 'rubbed' himself with the smoke, and got all right. The intruder had purposely come in to spoil the doctor's medicine, for he suspected that the young man patient was in love with his wife and he wanted him to die. And the young man did die."

In another case while a doctor was treating a patient, a band chief who was drinking heavily at the time and who had recently killed a relative of the doctor came into the lodge without leave and asked the master of the lodge for whiskey. The doctor packed

756 up his medicines at once, went home, got his rifle, came back and shot the band chief dead on the spot.[18]

Sometimes the doctor, just before actually beginning treatment 755 of his patient, would test out, or make a show of testing out, his power to know beforehand whether his treatment would be successful. One doctor, Sits Holy, for instance, just about to treat a wounded man in whose spine an arrowhead was lodged, said: "I'll test my power first to see if I can extract the arrowhead." The season was late fall. The doctor sang and made incense, and then a young bear stuck its paws out of the doctor's mouth and growled loud enough to be heard over the camp. Then the doctor "got" [made appear] ripe service-berries and choke-berries. Then he took a bear claw, dug in the ground right where he was sitting, and pulled out a fresh wild turnip. Then he said, "I'll be successful." And so he was; he extracted the arrowhead. In another case, a doctor, when just about to start treatment, picked up a piece of wood carved in the shape of an arrowhead, and turned it into an iron arrowhead, and so went forward confidently to begin treatment.

Commonly, perhaps always, the doctor's first ritual act in actual curing was praying with and smoking a pipe. The doctor would hold up the pipe and pray, first, as usual, to the Supreme Being, and then to his or her particular power-bestower,—animal, rock, or whatever it was.

While curing rites were apt to be rather noisy, tease and thrilling experiences for all present, the doctor did not go into trance or lose consciousness during them.

The more common elements in the curing ritual and procedure were singing, drumming, rattling, incensing, and searching out the cause of the ailment. "The people," said Coming Daylight, "who are in there [the lodge where rite was performed] always have to sing when the medicine man doctors." The doctor would ordinarily, it seems, start the singing and drumming, and then the others present would join in or take over entirely while the doctor carried through his or her treatment.

According to The Boy, "when a medicine man started off he beat a rapid tattoo on the drum while he prayed, and when he started to sing he beat a much slower, even time." Little Man, Al Chandler's adoptive father, in one case at least, followed a somewhat different procedure. He hit the drum just a little, that is, lightly, while he prayed. Then he sang and beat the drum harder, and sang until those present caught on to the song. Then he gave the drum to one of the men, and the others present sang to the latter's drumming while Little Man doctored the patient. If, according to The Boy, a medicine man used a rattle, he shook it in circles anti-clockwise—in contrast to the clockwise circling of the Flat Pipe keeper and the fanning back and forth of Star dancers.

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[18] Cf. Flannery, 1953, pp. 49-51.

Disease-causing objects within the patient's body were ordinarily extracted by suction. The object extracted was swallowed by the doctor, burned, or otherwise disposed of or destroyed, as will be given later in describing the curing procedures of individual doctors. A pipe stem might be used, in exceptional instances at least, for sucking out the object, to judge from the offer, with this provision, of power once made to Singer in a dream.

Tobacco smoking was sometimes prescribed for the sick by a Pipe keeper when doctoring and apparently by other doctors. According to The Boy, tobacco in such use was often pure, unmixed with other plant. 276

In curing rites, sometimes—how commonly, we could not determine—sweating in a sweat-lodge was prescribed for the patient by male doctors, in one instance to be described later, by a female doctor. Singer described an experience of her own as follows. "I was once thrown from a horse and hurt pretty badly. I was afraid I could not stand the sweating, for I could never stand heat. Sure enough, although the medicine man told me to crawl in and lie down so he could work on my back, as soon as they put the water on the stones, I got out in a hurry."

We now pass on, from more general curing practices to those of individual doctors, and may well start with an account from Coming Daylight which illustrates both sickness experience and curing ritual.

"I am going to tell about the time I almost died. We were living down about six miles from here [from Hays], where the windmill is now. There is quite a flat there along the creek. Little Man [her husband] plowed up the flat and was ready to sow the grain, and he went over to Hays [many times] to try to borrow a seeder. Finally he said: 'I have made so many trips and they are always using it. I don't think I will get the use of it. So I am going to give up. I will sow this grain by hand.' So I make a sack for him out of canvas and he put it around his neck. I said: 'I will help you.' He said: 'Well, we will hitch the team to the harrow.' He started in ahead of me throwing grain, and said: 'You may get tired, so ride on the harrow.' I said: 'No. The team might get scared and I might get tangled up. They might kill me.' So he said: 'Well, it is up to you. But we have a long way to go.'

"The ground was so soft that it was just like walking in mud. All our children were off at school, so the two of us had no help and did the sowing alone. This was about fifty years ago [about 1890]. My limbs just seem to ache me all the time. I used to crawl down to an old spring to get water for the day. I think this [the strenuous labor during that sowing] is why today my limbs ache me. For seven days I could not eat a thing, and, by this time, the harder I tried to work, the worse I got. I almost killed myself that time.

"On the fifth day I could not feel anything. It was like my flesh was dead and I could hardly move my head. My feet were along the west wall and my husband slept in the other room. When he saw I was so low, he told me: 'When your sister comes over, see if she won't get her man [her husband, Stiffarm] to doctor you. Tell him I will give him a cow for it.' So my sister came and I said to her: 'Your brother-in-law told me to tell you to get Stiffarm to doctor me and he will give him a cow for it.' But my sister said: 'Why should he doctor you when you have no faith in him.' My sister must have heard something that I had said about him. So I said to her: 'All right, you know he is not the only doctor.'

"So my husband came in after my sister left. He said: 'Did you tell her?' I said: 'I told her but she got mad. She said you had no faith in him anyway.' He said: 'Well, that is all right.' He

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thought a few minutes and then added: 'Well can you think of someone you would like to doctor you?' I said: 'Yes, I would like to get Naka:ninen (looking-for-an-enemy-warrior-in-war).' He said: 'All right,' and he rushed and asked that one: 'Come, as my wife has been sick for some time.' So that man and his wife came.

"Our house was large enough, so I had them move right in. Then they made a bed on the east side just across from my bed. Pretty soon they said: 'Let us move her.' They put me on the north side in the place of honor, and I said to myself: 'I believe I must be going to die, else they would not put me at the back of the lodge.' This man boiled my medicine just as soon as he could. This was the sixth day. Of course they always put your head [823] to the west when you are in the place of honor. The room was a big one and they made my bed toward the center. I could not even use my hands. They had to feed me.

"On the seventh day just about sunset. I asked to be turned over; I had been lying on my side so long. They did this for me and I faced the wall. While I lay so, a man's voice said, in a kind of scolding way: 'How could he [the doctor] have so much medicine to doctor you?' It meant he did not have enough to doctor me in the condition I was in. And all at once I answered the voice, saying: 'Why, of course, they have enough medicines. Look what a big bundle she (or he) has hanging there.' The medicine man thought I was delirious and said: 'Daughter, who are you talking to?' And I said: 'Didn't you hear that voice say he did not think you have enough medicine to doctor me?'

"Of course as soon as the sun went down it got dark. They had no lamp and had to sit in the dark. Just before they went to sleep, I told them: 'Now turn me over again.' They then went to their beds and in no time were snoring, especially my man [husband]. He always got up early and whenever he hit the bed it seemed like he was dead and he would go to snoring. I could not sleep a wink but just lay there and heard them snore. They were sleeping two rooms away from where I was.

"I could not tell what time it was but it was quite late when I saw a hand with something in it and a forearm. Then I saw a foot and at last I could see that a man had come in and was standing by the door. His lips were just white. His mouth was half closed on one side and it looked like he had something in his mouth. He made one step toward me and blew like they do with roots when curing, and this made me kind of flinch. He made another step and kind of worked his mouth like he was getting it [the root] all together in his mouth to blow again. He blew at me again and my feet went up. Then he took another step and all this time he was working this root around in his mouth. He blew again and it seemed like my nerves just shook all over.

"Pretty soon then he spoke and said: 'Now I brought this to you.' It was pemmican with a little tallow on top of it. It looked so good, because I had been without eating all these days. So he said: 'I will lay it here,' and he put it by my pillow. I thought he was ready to turn away and leave me, but he blew hard once more [this the fourth time] by my head, and this time he just made me rise to a sitting position.

"I started looking for this meat he had left for me. I was so hungry that I was whining, and I knew the meat was there because he had put it there and had told me he would leave it. I was just tearing my bed apart, saying: 'I know he left that pemmican.' By this time my husband had not awakened but the other man [the doctor] said: 'Daughter, do you know what you are talking about? You had your bed all torn up.' I said: 'This man came in and gave me something to eat and I cannot find it.' He told his wife: 'You should have a little piece of candle.' They lit matches and tried to help me find the pemmican. I was sure he had left the pemmican for me. So he [the doctor] said: 'I believe she is delirious. She couldn't move a hand and yet now she is up and around.' So they woke my husband and he was just frightened because he thought I was delirious.

"The third time the man had blown on me I kind of knew what he had blown at me, and the fourth time I was sure what it was. It was what they call 'white medicine' (cf. supra, p. 315). That is why that man's lips were white and I could smell when he got close that it was this 'white madicine.'

"In the morning I was just hungry. I told them: 'I am terribly hungry this morning.' My man [husband] said: 'I will go out and get a calf.' Later on he would butcher a bigger one for the old doctor. He went out in the hills to look for the calf but could not find it any place. He was near my cousin's and thought he would go over. My cousin's people had just butchered that same morning and they made signs to my husband: 'You are just in time. Now you can come in and eat.' But he said: 'I am in a hurry. I am looking for a calf to butcher for my wife. She is awfully hungry. She has not eaten since she was taken sick.' My cousin said: 'I will give you some [meat].' So she put liver and tripe and different things in a sack. My husband came back and threw the sack of meat on the floor and said: 'Your sister [cousin] sent this to you. They have just butchered.' 755

"I lost no time and rushed over to this sack of meat: I saw a piece of liver in there and took a knife and went to slice off a piece. The old medicine man said: 'Slow now. You should cook it first.' But I said: 'I just cannot. I am going to eat it this way.' I ate it raw like that with some tallow. It seemed like from then on I was just myself again.

"All I know about this person who appeared to me was that he was a man, but I did not recognize him. He was a bitä:tao (soul, spirit shadow).

"It was the medicine man's wife who did the doctoring for me in the case. She did a kind of quiet doctoring. She boiled roots and rubbed me all over with them. They called that woman Nätsiθä ('Cree woman') and she really was a Cree. They say those Cree medicines are good." [582]

Coming Daylight gave two accounts, in 1940 and 1945, of another personal experience in being cured. The two accounts supplement each other. Here follows the 1945 account with some detailed interpolated in parentheses from the 1940 one.

"When my first little boy (by my husband, Dressed In White) died, he died, I think because my breasts were bad. Then I had a girl baby. When this girl baby was getting older and already learning to sit up, I was still nursing her of course, and my breasts went bad again, that is, the milk was bad. (They were tight and full and hard . . . the infant had diarrhea and got very weak.) I was suffering with my breasts and my husband thought he should get a doctor to do something for me. So he got a certain man, a great doctor, but one of whom the women were afraid and whom

755 they avoided when possible, because he always had to include the woman patient's genitals in some way.

"My husband said: 'I am going to try him. I don't want to lose this little girl. I lost that other child.' So I thought to myself, 'Why do you want to call *that man*,' and I was afraid of this man because everybody was. But my husband called him, and butchered and brought in a whole buffalo, and told me: 'You can pay that man's wife with half of this buffalo. I will give that man a whole clothing outfit, down to moccasins.'

"We had the lodge all prepared for him and the place prepared for him at the back of the lodge. He sat there with his wife on his right and my husband on his left. I was opposite him. My husband filled his pipe and offered it to the doctor. The doctor smoked it and said: 'You will be glad you called me and were not afraid of me like the rest of the people are.' Even though I thought to myself, 'I am scared anyhow,' I did not say anything.

("After he smoked he started to get ready to doctor. He took off all his clothes. He was just stark naked. He went and felt the little infant. . . . So he boiled the medicine herbs in water and let them boil on the coals. He came to me and I was just scared of him, the way he looked. He felt my breasts all over. They were hard and he gave them a good going over, squeezing them and massaging them. Then he told me to take down my dress so he could see my breasts. Next he put the pail of medicine beside me and told me to drink a little of the medicine.)

"Then he told me to sit where my husband had been sitting, next to himself. I did not want to sit next to him, but he fixed himself up and knelt down a certain way and told me to kneel the same way and to do whatever he asked me to do. He got ready to doctor me and made me kneel, and then he started to sing a song. He finished the song and then told me, 'Watch close,' and told my husband too, 'Watch close.' Then he prayed to the one from whom he had gotten his doctoring power, and then said: 'I never used this way of doctoring before. This is the first time. People are always afraid of me but you (addressing my husband) must watch close and see all that I do.' After that he sang, and told me, 'Spit twice on each of your hands,' and he did the same to each of his

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own hands. (He put his hands to the ground, palms down, then put his palms to his own breasts and shook them up and down. He repeated this action three times, making four times in all. After the fourth time, his own breasts were big like a woman's.)

"Then just that quick,—and you won't believe it but it is true,—although he was a man and it seemed funny to me then, his own breasts started spurting milk which just poured down, and mine did, too, though he did not lay a hand on me [at this juncture]. He let this go on for a long time, and then told me: 'You want to watch to see all the bad milk is gone. Right now it is pure flour water and when all that bad stuff is gone it is going to be a bluish color.' And sure enough I then watched it and it began to get a bluish color and kept on gradually until it got completely good. Finally the nipples were just dripping a little with blue milk, and he told me: 'Raise your breasts from underneath with your hands.' His breasts now became flat and normal, and I was cured. After that I had all the rest of my children and my milk was never bad. I always nursed my own children.

"He told me: 'You should be thankful that you were not afraid of me because I made your little girl live.' I told him: 'I was afraid.' The reason the women were afraid of him was because he used to lance glands down in the loin and would run his hand down in the vagina. I told him why I was afraid: 'They say that when you lance, your finger will all of a sudden slip down there.'

"After he got through doctoring me, he doctored my baby, every joint of the little girl. He then told me: 'The girl was already full of that stuff, but I have drawn it all out.'

("This old medicine man was a grandfather to Crow Bull, so he was my grandfather too. My husband used to tell me: 'Always treat that man good and feed him, because he cured our little girl.' Long after the cure, when he used to come to visit, I would tell him how wonderful it was that he had been able to effect the cure. He used to tell me: 'If you want that power, you can come crying to me.' And I used to answer: 'Oh, I wouldn't do that because you are one of those who like to have women [for sexual purposes] and you would try to have me.'")

Four other cures recalled and described by Coming Daylight

755 were those of her husband, her daughter, and her grandfather, and her maternal uncle, Crow Bull, respectively.

"My husband, Little Man, did not believe in Indian doctors. He had never been sick, but once somebody put [bad] medicine on him. There was a bad man among the Indians at that time. . . . My husband knew and everybody knew that this bad man had done this to him. My husband had a pain all the time right near his heart and sometimes he could not move on account of this pain. Occasionally, too, he had a hemorrhage. He used to be in such pain through this thing that he knew it was some work of a medicine man. So he had a dream and in it he was told that he
187 should go out on the hills and swing round and round on a pole, as they do (cf. infra, pp. 393-394), and that he would then get well.

"I called a woman doctor named Goes Back. I got a nice horse and hitched it at this woman's place as payment. This woman doctor said: 'I am just going to doctor you [Little Man] once.' Other doctors had been trying to cure Little Man but they could not succeed because the one who had put the medicine on him was extremely powerful. Goes Back talked to the one who had given her her power and said: 'You told me that I could use this medicine work just once, and that then I would get a particular person well.' This is what had been promised to this woman.

"So she said: 'I will ask for a sweat-lodge, like a man.' Only medicine men used to ask for a sweat-lodge. She said: 'I am going to doctor in this sweat-lodge.' Several people went into the sweat-lodge. I attended to the opening and shutting [of the door thereof]. There were only certain rocks that they used and these were heated until red. Someone else attended to this. The patient was inside the sweat-lodge and the medicine woman invited some others to go in there. Except for the medicine woman, only men went in. I sat beside the door, but on the outside.

"They sang, and I heard the woman praying: 'My nephew has suffered a long time. Please listen to me. You promised that I would get some one person well by doctoring just once, and I want this to be that one time.' When she got through doctoring, that is, sucking, she said: 'Lift up the curtain.' So I lifted it up and opened the sweat-lodge, and one of the men there said: 'I too never believed things. I am going outside to see for myself.' He asked 755 the old woman doctor for the thing she had drawn out of the patient.

"So she gave it to him in his palm. It was just a little round thing. He took it, fingering it and smoothing it out. It turned out to be a little piece of white rag. It had been all balled up. On that little piece of white rag were seven marks, like needle-pointed writing, and at the end right in that rag was a piece of blood clot. The man saw this and said: 'Now I have seen something for myself with my own eyes.'

"They handed this around so that everybody could see it. Then they handed it back to the medicine woman. She said to this rag: 'I don't want you to ever come back again. You go out to where you belong.' So she wrinkled it up again and threw it in the flaming hot fire. As soon as she did that it burned up quickly.

"As soon as she had drawn it out of Little Man he felt much better. He got well because he knew that this thing was out of his system, and he quit having hemorrhages.

"In the beginning she had told what this man had put medicine on him for. This man thought that Little Man was going after his woman [the man's wife] or going with her. Little Man's sickness was not a natural one. This man had put medicine on him. Little Man had to go through with his promise [of self torture on the hill] because he got well."

"I was awfully curious when I was a child. Whenever I saw a 752 gathering of people, I always ran to see what was happening. 755 Crow Bull [her uncle] had been wounded in a battle. His scalp had been grazed by a bullet. They sent for a doctor whose name was Drops In The Fire. My mother and grandmother and my uncle with his wives were sitting on the west side in the lodge. The four men singers were on the opposite side. Crow Bull, to be doctored, was at the place opposite the door, with the doctor there too.

"The doctor started to sing and then he gave two drums there to the singers. He said: 'You all look at me. You all look at me. You all look at me good.' Then he said: 'Give me a gun. This thing [the gun] is the main thing. Look at it. If I don't make this work, he

752 755 [Crow Bull] is going to leave you [to die], and if it works as I want it to work he is going to get well.' There is a wild rhubarb which is called 'gun' and when a person is going to eat it he runs his thumb up the stalk to eat the inside of the rhubarb stalk. The doctor said: 'Now you see this gun [the real gun].' And he ran his thumb up the barrel, and it made a sound like that made when a person opens a wild rhubarb stalk. And it looked as if the real gun was laid apart. They all looked at it. And the doctor said: 'We are going to have good luck.' Then they all cheered like they were thanking him. Then he ran his hand along the gun [barrel] and when they looked again the gun was just as good as ever. Then he laid the gun up. I used to think he was a wonderful man because I saw him do this with a real gun.

"After this, the doctor took the bandage off Crow Bull and started doctoring him. He took a snake-skin which was just flat and wrapped it around the wound. All this time he was talking and praying. All this time he held the tail and head of the snake-skin together at the back of Crow Bull's head. He would kind of move his hand, quivering it at the back of Crow Bull's head where he was holding the two ends of the snake-skin together. The bullet had lodged there. The head of the snake was inside [nearest the scalp] and the tail was laid over it. He just quivered his hand about four times and at the same time told the singers: 'Not yet. Keep singing.' He was trying to work the bullet out. Finally he grasped the snake-skin by the middle and shook it, and the bullet dropped out. That is why I thought he was wonderful. That is one experience I had.

"They had a horse tied outside to give to the doctor, and of course they had a big feed. When they got through eating, all the women folks came and kissed the medicine man. My grandmother said to me: 'What are you sitting there for, not paying any attention?' I said: 'Oh, grandmother, I am scared of him.'

955 "In later years, too, at various gatherings when I was visiting with the women folks I would say to that medicine man's daughter: 'My, I used to be afraid of your father. He was so powerful.' And then that woman would jump at me for a joke."

"There is always," Coming Daylight added, "a way for those powerful men to die. That particular man Drops In The Fire, however, always claimed to be bullet proof." 755

When, on one occasion, one of Coming Daylight's daughters was very ill, the wife of Buffalo Run finally cured the girl. "I called in Stiffarm," Coming Daylight said, "who demanded a large amount of things for payment, because he said the girl had this stomach diseasse [cancer?]. He wanted my husband, Little Man, to make him a lodge and he would doctor the girl. But I said: 'No. My daughter hasn't got that disease. I don't want you to make that lodge.' Then we got another medicine man, whose daughter had died at the Mission. Finally I said: 'I am going to take my daughter to someone who can cure her.'

"So I told my husband to load food and wood. I took my daughter down below Stiffarm's place, to where Buffalo Run (or Chase) used to live with his wife. There was the woman who was the medicine woman. When I got there, she said to me, just teasing: 'Where is this mean woman going?' I handed her the pipe and told her to smoke it, and she took it, which meant she would do what I was asking her to do. I said to her: 'I want you to get my daughter well.' And I gave her the grub to eat and some wood. She said to me, just teasing like: 'So you had to come to me, this mean woman!' Then she said: 'If you do what I tell you to do, I will get your daughter well. You are to leave her here with me and I will give her medicine every day and tend to her (that is, put medicine all over her, make her drink it, and draw the thing out).' So I and my husband left my daughter there and we went home alone. Every now and then I took grub and wood to the medicine woman. Sure enough, not long after that my daughter got well. Soon after that she married, and she is alive and well today." 757 755

Good Singer, Coming Daylight's mother's sister, had an ancestral helper[14] and was also a practicing doctor. We recorded her doctoring song, as sung by The Boy, song number 28, and by Coming Daylight, song number 122.

A cure by Good Singer was described by Singer. "Once the man I was living with was very ill, almost dead. One of his wives—he had several besides myself,—called in this medicine woman, 755 [595]

Good Singer.

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[14] Cf. Flannery, 1944, pp. 55-56.

755 Good Singer. The one that called her in made a smudge, with fire of buffalo chips on which some kind of medicine—sweet pine, or sweet grass,—was sprinkled. Good Singer then smudged herself, putting the smoke up to her face four times and then rubbing it on her breast. Then she sang her song [Singer here sang it], the burden of which was: 'My pipe is lying here!' Then she was ready to doctor.

"She hit herself on the chest, and a bead came out of her mouth. She put the bead on the top of her foot and extracted it from the sole thereof. She next smudged the bead four times by putting it to her mouth, and then laid the bead down.

"Next she went to the patient and worked on him, sucked at the spot where his pain was, and after showing the people what she extracted from him swallowed it, and named the one who had caused his sickness. Then she swallowed her own medicine [the bead] and smudged at her mouth four times. They gave her a lot of things for doing that,—horses and blankets and such things."

Singer also gave details on two other cures, one by White Weasel, the other by Bad Bad Bull.

"Once I hooked up the wagon and went for wood. We were living at the time down the Milk River Valley. While getting the wood, all of a sudden I was struck with a sharp pain in the back of my neck. It was like a sharp pinch. I went back with my load [582] of wood. I was married at the time to an Assiniboine named Axe Handle. I told him: 'The Assiniboines have shot me [with medicine].' He told me: 'No, I guess you haven't had that happen to you.'

"This was a little before the Fourth of July and I went to the celebration suffering with that pain in the neck. After that they began to call all kinds of Indian doctors for me—Stiffarm, Bill Jones, Ragged Robe. Each pulled out something, a piece of skin or something. And they had to give a lot of things away to each doctor. But none of them did me any good.

"We were living close to a friend who told me: 'The only one who can cure you is my brother [White Weasel, a Gros Ventre].' So I called him and they gave him a lot of things,—about seven big things, including horses. He is the one who cured me. He pulled 755 out a little animal from himself. That was his medicine. He showed it to the people present and its tail just shook. Then he doctored me by sucking on my cheek and on the nape of my neck. He extracted from me a fingernail. It was just all green, it had been in there so long. I had not called White Weasel until the fall. . . .

"White Weasel said that it was not a spirit that had shot me but that it had been done by somebody living although he did not mention the person's name. I never knew who did it."

"There was a man," Singer said on another occasion, "who had power to cure this stomach-eating sickness. His name was Bad Bad Bull. In his lodge he had little willow back-rests with [352] fringes along each side, and on each piece of fringe he had these little animals that cause this sickness. When anyone was in that lodge and would, for instance, be helping his wife to find something and would come across one of these little animals and would draw away frightened. Bad Bad Bull would say; 'What are you scared of? They won't do anything to you.'

"Bad Bad Bull's nephew's wife had this stomach-eating sickness. It was making her poorly and she was sick all the time. The old fellow said: 'Oh I will pity my nephew. If his wife dies and he has to go out and cry. I guess I will pity him and doctor his wife.'

"So they fixed the lodge in readiness for the doctoring. Iron Bucket, my husband, was present there for the doctoring. They all sat around, and Bad Bad Bull told them to sing and said: 'When you get through singing I will pick away all the stuff that the animal has eaten. And then I am going to suck this thing out. I want you to catch hold of my back locks of hair and hold my head up.'

"He had them heat two rocks and these rocks were still in the fire while he was doctoring. So they watched him when he was throwing that bad stuff out. When he had his mouth ready to suck, they pulled his head up, and he had that animal in his mouth. So, as they always do, they all looked at it. When Iron Bucket saw it, it was round and most of it was mouth. After they had all seen it, Bad Bad Bull had them pull the two red-hot rocks out of the fire, and he put the animal on them and burned it up. The woman got well. She came out of her sickness and lived a long time. Bad Bad Bull's animals used to be of all different colors,—green, yellow and black, the black ones were not quite so bad."

Lame Bull, The Boy's father, who got doctoring power when keeper of the Flat Pipe, used a thunder-rock and peppermint in his curing, and a song, number 29 as sung by The Boy and recorded by us. The words of the song may be freely translated, "there is nothing impossible," or "I wonder if there is anything impossible."[18]

We recorded also the wordless doctoring song number 30 sung by The Boy, but obtained no data on the rest of his ritual, apart from his preliminary test (cf. supra, p. 332), except that he spat out the paint with which he painted his body and that on one occasion he dug out an arrow lodged in the spine of a wounded man.

Stiffarm's doctoring song, number 32, was recorded as sung by The Boy. "Stiffarm had a weasel skin to live by," as The Boy put it, "and to do his doctoring with." As expressed by The Boy on another occasion. "He had as his helper a big weasel, the larger of the two weasels. The weasel would do Stiffarm's doctoring for him. It would take out tapeworms."

Thomas Main was told the following incident about Stiffarm (d. ca. 1934) by Brocky, another Gros Ventre. "Stiffarm was doctoring a sick woman. He had a weasel skin. This he placed on the ground and covered with a black handkerchief. Then he took away the handkerchief and there was a live weasel. The weasel ran to the woman, bored its way half way into the woman's stomach, and came out with half of its body bloody and with something in its mouth. This object was taken by Stiffarm and shown to all present as the cause of the illness, and was then thrown into the fire outside the lodge. Then the weasel was covered with the handkerchief, the handkerchief was next taken away, and there was only the weasel skin."

Coming Daylight, who distrusted a particular medicine man, related the following instance of his curing. "After my husband

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[18] On doctoring powers of keepers of the sacred Pipes, cf. p. 62. The Flat Pipe keeper could use the hair rope in the bundle as a powerful doctoring medicine.

'Little Man,' had been bewitched and cured, he fell sick again. A man was called in to doctor him. He did his medicine work and drew out a small rattlesnake with shining eyes from Little Man's forehead. Meanwhile I had built a fire. I asked the man to let me look at that snake and he told me: 'When you have finished, hand it back to me.' But I threw it in the fire. He did not say anything but gathered up his medicines, jammed them in his bag, and went out. He took the mare given in payment and gave it away at once to another person. . . . Little Man did not know what to make of my action. I told him: 'I burned up his old rotten medicine.' 755

"I know I could not escape death [some time] so I was not afraid of him (the man). Some others would be scared of a medicine man like him, but not I. He did not put medicine on me. He was my neighbor, however, and after that he avoided me like he was ashamed. . . . Little Man really had kidney trouble and that man fooled around his head!"

"Stiffarm," Coming Daylight also said, "had some power concerning children, for he wore a bracelet from which hung little dolls, one on each side thereof. . . . My husband, Little Man, used to make fun of Stiffarm for wearing this bracelet, but he would never tease him outright [in his presence]. After Stiffarm would leave, Little Man would say: 'What is that crazy thing doing with such a bracelet?' " [778]

Bull Lodge, Garter Snake's father, a great medicine man, who died about 1886, had gotten power to cure various ailments. From Garter Snake were obtained some details, many of them confirmed independently by The Boy, of the ritual procedures used by Bull Lodge. His chief operating instrument was a woodpecker feather.

"Now I will tell how my father doctored," Garter Snake volunteered. "On one occasion his granddaughter was ill and called him. His wife and I went along with him. On our arrival this granddaughter said: 'Grandfather, I would make coffee for you but I haven't any sugar.' But he got mad and said: 'Everytime you ask me here you ask me to make sugar. I am tired of this. If you had the power I have, would you like to be making it all the time?' Well, instead of quitting asking, she took a pack (?) and threw it to him and said: 'make that sugar.' So he went through [789]

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[789]

the performance, and they had sweet coffee. And after we ate and smoked, we went back home.

"Sometime during that night the woman [Bull Lodge's granddaughter] had an attack of some kind of sickness and blood just poured out from underneath. Her sister ran [to our lodge] and said [to Bull Lodge]: 'Grandfather, your granddaughter is having an awful hemorrhage. If you think a lot of your children I pray that you will come, and if you love Garter Snake, your daughter, I pray in her name that you come.' And the old man said: 'All right. I am coming. Run home and get her ready. I will be there. I will do what I can.'

"So I and my mother and father went, and one of the boys, Curly Head, went along too. And of course the sick woman's children were in there [her lodge].

"The old man got there and felt around and said: 'Oh there is a big lump in there that busted your blood. Instead of cutting you open I am going to work it the other way. I will give you the medicine I use to help a woman in labor. I will work it off that way. I don't know what it is but it is a big lump.' So he told his wife: 'Take that frying pan, heat water quick.' So she did. He put three or four kinds of medicine in this water and told her: 'Boil it quick.' Of course it didn't take long, and he said: 'Take two cups [of the infusion] and put it in there and cool it quick, so she can drink it.'

"They did this, and after the medicine was cool enough, the patient's husband raised her up so she could drink this medicine. She took it, and Bull Lodge said: 'All right. Just hold her up like that.' Bull Lodge took the black handkerchief [another ritual object he used in curing] and balled it up, prayed and sang, and put it right on top of the patient's head and shook it back and forth quick, and when he did that, she said: 'Grandfather, something dropped.'

"When she said that, he lifted her to another place, and here [where she had been] was what looked like a rock, as big as a man's fist and it was blue. What it was I do not know, but that it was what this woman had in her and it must have busted that blood. The blood was just running all over. The blood was still coming, and Bull Lodge said: "Well, I will have to heal that wound inside.' So he told Curly Head: 'Run to the creek and take a cup with you, and when you dip it in the water, dip it upstream.' So Curly Head did that and brought the water and said: 'Here is your water.' Bull Lodge put some medicine in it, stirred it up, and said to the patient: 'Drink this. This is going to heal that wound inside and is going to make blood. You lost too much blood.' So she drank that, the whole cupful, and when she got through drinking it the blood quit flowing.

"After Bull Lodge cured her, of course they took that thing that came out of her and built a great fire outside of buffalo chips. He said: 'Make a big fire and put it [the rock-like lump from the patient] in and see what is going to happen.' So they put it in the fire, and it rolled out. They would throw it in again, and it would roll out, the other way. It was a long time before they could stop it [from rolling out], but finally they got it to stay in the fire, and it broke open and was just like a shell. It must have been some kind of an animal with a thin shell. I did not see this fire myself but that is what they told me. This woman whom Bull Lodge doctored lived to be an old, old woman.

"Now I will tell of Bull Lodge's first experience of operating with a feather. The sick woman was named Wind Woman, and she had trouble with her stomach, as if something were traveling around in there, and she was awfully sick. Her man went and gave a pipe to Bull Lodge to come and doctor this woman. She was just skin and bones and ready to give up the ghost. So Bull Lodge said: 'I will operate on her. I will have to cut her open and in that case I have to have seven men singers and six women to sing.' The men sat on one side of the lodge and the women on the other. The sick woman was the niece of old Bull Lodge and therefore he was her father-in-law in the Indian way. They all got in there seated and she said: 'Father-in-law, I am about to die anyway, so don't be ashamed to doctor me. If you doctor me I know you will cure me and I want to live.' Bull Lodge said: 'All right. I will do what I can.'

"So this woman of course was stripped from her waist up and when she was lying on her back they could see this thing beating like in her abdomen. Bull Lodge called: 'Son, Otter Robe, come

755 and give me charcoal.' And after Otter Robe had given him just a little piece of charcoal, he said: 'Son, put your hand on where the most pain is.' Otter Robe said: 'I don't know anything about it.' But anyway Otter Robe put his hand there and you could see his hand jumping, and right from there downward Bull Lodge made a mark with the charcoal.

"Then Bull Lodge took his woodpecker feather and prayed and talked and passed it sideways from each corner of his mouth twice, four times in all. I (Garter Snake) was looking to see what he was going to do. I was curious to know all about it. So he smudged the feather, spat on it, and at the upper end of the charcoal mark wiggled it as if working it in, and after he got it half way in he started to cut right along that charcoal line he had made, and at the lower end of the line he took the feather out and the skin opened up. Bull Lodge smudged his hand and he put his hand in that cut, and he pulled something out and put it on the ground. It was as big as a fist and green on one side and white on the other. It was a wanoːʼwɔ, a kind of bug that grows in a person, or a stone. So Bull Lodge said: 'Well, light that pipe,' and he put the handkerchief over that cut. So Otter Robe took the pipe and brought it around and gave it to his father and the old man lit it. After he lit it he smoked and blew that smoke on the handkerchief, and the fourth time he took away the handkerchief and the cut was gone,—there was nothing but a little scar. And the woman got well and lived to be an old woman."

Charles Buckman who was interpreting for us with Garter Snake added that his uncle had been operated on by Bull Lodge who ran his feather along a y-shaped mark down on the uncle's body and took out the cause of the illness. When the cut healed, it was just like a scar. The Boy, who in boyhood, knew Bull Lodge well, likewise stated that, after such a cut was made by Bull Lodge with his woodpecker feather in curing, the wound would heal up without any sewing and leave only the trace of a scar.

Al Chandler gave us considerable information on the curing powers used by his adopted father, Little Man, who had received curing powers from a bear, an old man, and a coyote respectively

A good many details on the objects and procedures used by Little Man and on his manner of painting himself when doctoring have already been given (supra, pp. 285-291, passim) in the description of Little Man's several experiences when acquiring doctor power. We here add descriptions of four specific cases of cure as given by Al Chandler from his own memory and personal observation. These were crucial cases of which he had the power to cure seven, but he only used it four times, as follows.

"Little Man said that long ago when he first started out in medicine work there was a woman who was already given up for dead. My aunt, who was a very good friend of this dying woman and was good-hearted and helped people whenever she could, told her husband, Little Man: 'Don't you pity that woman who has been so good to us? She will die if you don't do something. She has little children and you know how little children are pitiful when they have no mother or father. Won't you help?' He said: 'All right. I will do it.'

"So they went over there and he took his medicine bag. He looked at the sick woman and she was still breathing but was pretty close to the edge. He told her folks who were all sitting around ready to see her go any time: 'I pity this woman. I am going to try my medicine the first time. I guess you heard about my story. Now I am going to try it. All get out of the way, sit back. Just four men and three women stay in here. The men sit on the left coming in and the women on the right.' So he fixed up like he was shown (by coyote) and started in. He kind of felt this woman to see how far gone she was and told them: 'Well, I am going to doctor her three times today, and the third time we will know for sure whether I fail or whether I succeed.' He hit the drum just lightly while he prayed. Then he sang and beat the drum harder. He sang the song until the men got on to it. Then he gave one of them the drum and the others sang to his drumming while Little Man was doctoring the woman.

"He had a powdered root and chewed it and blew it on the patient like they do for one who is this far gone, that is, they blow it here and there over the body because being so far gone they couldn't tell where the sickness was. He went through that. He was going to doctor at intervals twice more that night. At the third doctoring when it was just coming daylight he would know whether she would live or not. That was a long time to allow until the third doctoring because that woman could have easily died before then. He didn't rush or get excited but did according to what he had been told when out crying and praying. So the third time he doctored her, the woman started to fuss and look around at everybody. Her folks were glad because it looked like she was coming out of it. They started to talk and tell stories. He told them: 'She is going to be all right. In the morning if she wants to eat, feed her, give her anything she wants. She will be hungry.' He had boiled medicine for her and asked: 'Can you sit up and drink this?' She sat up and drank it and he said: 'She is going to be all right. She will be thirsty after this. In the morning give her all she wants to drink.'

"So Little Man and his wife went home, and close to noon, say about ten o'clock, they went back to the patient and he said: 'I am going to doctor her four more times. I have to do it seven times in all. You don't have to do anything else. If these other medicine men want to give her something to drink, it is all right. It will help her that much more to take medicine, whatever they give her.' So he doctored her again and said: 'This afternoon I will come and that will be the fifth time.' He came and did the same thing as before. In the evening just before sundown he did it again and that was the sixth time. He told them he wouldn't be back until midnight for the seventh and last time.

"These folks asked him if they needed him could they call him in the meantime. He said: 'I don't know. I don't think you need worry about that. After I have done it seven times I am through. Just let her do what she pleases. Leave it to her. She is all right. She is cured.' And sure enough, in a few days she was up and around.

"The second case of critical illness he cured was Al Plumage, then a boy. He is the son of Paul Plumage. He had t.b. of the stomach and was just black and had a big bloated belly.

"Paul, the boy's father, had come to get Little Man and didn't like it when the latter said: 'You people don't think of me until somebody is about dead. When the others fail you think about me instead of calling me earlier.' So Paul told him: 'Well, it is your son who sent me over here and I sure appreciate it because he sent me here. I believe you could do something. I cannot get those others any more. They have all given up. I should have come long ago, but I didn't know. Most of those others are supposed to be our relatives.' So Little Man went down there and cured this boy just the same as he had cured the woman, telling them the number of times they should expect to hear news and so on.

"Little Man didn't go around and brag and say he could have cured this or that. He had told the story of his power and if any wanted to call on him it was up to them. He was young when he got his power and old when he died. He only used this power four times. The other two cures he made with this medicine were Cora's mother and my son Jimmy, who was Little Man's pet.

"The mother of my wife, Cora, had pneumonia. They had already covered her up but I went to see the old woman and sized up her situation. I saw that she was still breathing and I said I was going to call my father. I told him just how things were. Little Man had just got back from some place and had his wagon still loaded. I didn't have a pipe, but my father would do anything for me, pipe or no pipe. I said to him: "My mother-in-law is just about a goner. Can you do anything for her?' So he told me to get the horses and I went over home and pretty soon he came along. They just stopped by the house and didn't unhook the team but went in to see how the old woman was. He came back out and got his medicine bag and told these folks just how he was going to doctor. The third time he doctored her she wanted to eat. They were kind of scared because no matter how sick a person is he or she always has one time they want to eat before dying. Little Man said, 'Let her eat if she wants to eat. It won't hurt her. She will be well.' So they did. She got well and lived a long time after that.

"Jimmy was the fourth one cured. At first he had summer complaint. Neither the agency doctors nor Indian doctors could do a thing for him. The only thing Jimmy lived on was soda crackers and Little Man was away. I waited and waited for him to get back and as soon as I knew he was back, I went to him and told him to come. They hooked up the team and brought bedding with them. Jimmy was just skin and bones and was getting black. He was only about two and Cora had another little baby at that time. They had given him up for sure.

"This is a sample of the way Little Man would do. He doctored Jimmy just a little at first. There was nobody there to sing then. Little Man said: 'Up there where I live there are some plants we call shoestrings in the brush.' I said in excitement: 'Yes.' So he said: 'You go up there and pick a good handful.' I rushed up there like a fool and looked around for what 'shoestring' was. Little Man's brother came along just then in a wagon and asked: 'What are you looking for?' I said: 'Shoestrings, but I don't know what they are!' He laughed and said: 'You big fool. You are stepping all over them.' So I got busy and then rushed back over there. In the meantime Little Man had picked seven purple flowers, —just the flower part.

"So when I got there, he said to put on water in a big dishpan to warm it, not to boil it. When the water got warm he broke the flowers and the shoestrings up in it and stirred and stirred the water. Then he got his wife to hold Jimmy standing in that water and bathed him all over from head to foot, especially his stomach, but didn't give him any to drink. Then he said: 'That is all. Put him in bed and cover him up.' And he told Cora: 'Watch what he passes and let me know.' So she looked every little while. Finally he passed and Cora told me so I told the old man who came and looked himself. They beheld a wonderful sight to see. They saw these shoestrings were whole, just like I had picked them, and they were covered with excrement. Now you might be able to understand it if he had given the child these things to drink. But he didn't and besides they had been all broken up in the water and not whole like that. After that Jimmy wanted to eat. He ate from then on and began to pick up.

"The next time Jimmy got sick he had typhoid. We had all been invited to Lewiston to a Fair. We went over there to make a little money and Little Man wasn't around when Jimmy got sick. Jimmy was pretty sick and said he was hungry for plums. I didn't know where to get any and Jimmy got mad and said: 'Flea (an old man) brought me some.' But I said: 'Flea went to town.

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He borrowed a saddle from us and he isn't here.' Mrs. Stevens had a store at Old Hays and they had come over and she said she had plums canned. So she went right home to get them for him. It didn't take long in an auto and she brought a jar of them. He certainly enjoyed them.

"So Little Man got back and I came after him and told him that Jimmy was sick again. He came over and looked at him and doctored a little bit like he does at first. He doctored him twice that same day and the next morning was when he used that bear claw. He told Jimmy: 'Tell me wherever it hurts and I will work on it.' Jimmy said: 'Here on my right side.' The old man said: 'That's a bad place. I don't like to suck there because it might hurt your guts. But I will do something else. I will use this bear claw now.' So he asked the boy, showing him the bear claw, 'Do you think you can stand this?' Jimmy said he could and Little Man said: 'Well make sure you can stand it.' He told the old lady to hold Jimmy's hands down and me to hold his feet down. But first he told me to get hot coals and just put a little of the sweet pine on the coals and smudge the end of the bear claw. He took some paint and painted himself like the bear had showed him that time when he was out crying. So after he did that, I held Jimmy and the old man sang first himself. He sang that song four times and then got busy. He put the claw right where it should be, and you could just see the claw going in. The boy wriggled and made faces. The claw went right in at the side and he jerked it out and you could hear something drop. I saw where it dropped and said: 'Where did it fall?' Little Man told me: 'Pick it up. Let us see it.' I took it and gave it to him. He worked it around in his palm. It was a whole cherry seed and Jimmy's gut, kind of rotten, was stuck on it and that is what was blocking his gut. Right after that he was well.

"The claw was a big one but it didn't even make a scar because I looked to see if there was any blood coming out. As soon as he jerked the claw out, he rubbed his hand just a little bit over the place and that is all there was to it."

Al Chandler also gave a short account of his own treatment as a boy by Black Bird.

"I was four years old when my mother died and I knew in what direction they had taken the corpse. The next morning I went over

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755 [764] there and saw two fresh graves. They dig a hole about three or four feet deep and put sticks across, cover that with canvas and cover the canvas with dirt. I laid down on one of the graves and that is where they found me. When I did not come back my father started looking for me. I was just like dead and they got an old medicine man to work on me, for at that time my adopted father, Little Man, had not yet gotten doctoring power.

"When I woke up, my father, my stepfather (the man married to my real mother), a woman and the old doctor, Black Bird, were there in this big lodge. I did not know what had happened to me but when I woke up I saw old Black Bird sitting by me. He had a china saucer with medicine in it and with four little brass bells [sic] in the medicine. He told me to drink up the medicine. I took the medicine but tried to balk at the bells. But the old man said: 'No, no drink the bells and all. The bells will be your protection. You will never get sick and ghosts will no longer be able to harm you. You could go to sleep with them and sit up with them [without harm to you from them]."

In a long narrative of a battle between the Gros Ventres and the Crow, The Boy described, very briefly, the manner in which one of the Gros Ventres was cured. After the fighting was over this man was found unconscious, bleeding from a wound in the arm. One of the Gros Ventres knew how to staunch the flow of blood He had an otter-skin with medicine tied on the nose thereof. With this he treated the wounded man's arm. The flow of blood stopped at once and the man regained consciousness. A travois was made and they had the man's relatives haul him back to the main camp on it.

756 A number of other individuals with doctoring power were mentioned by name at various times by our informants—Sleeping Bear, He Steals, Bill Jones, Ragged Robe (d. about 1935), Otter Robe, Joe Assiniboine—but we obtained no information on their curing procedures. [795] We knew Joe Assiniboine, who alone of the surviving Gros Ventres refused to the last to become a Catholic and who died only recently in 1942 or 1943, but unfortunately, though not patently unfriendly to us, was consistently reluctant to give information.

In the preceding pages we have been concerned with the ritual 754 procedures used in the exercise of curing power, of "good" doctoring power. We now turn to procedures used for working "bad" power, for doing harm to people putting spells on them, "shooting" them, in a word, for practicing witchcraft. Our information on such procedures is much less detailed than we would desire, for those who resorted to the use of such "bad" power did so secretly as a rule and were very reticent about their procedures. Furthermore, so far as we could judge, "bad" power was less frequently used than "good" power.

Bad medicine could be put on the victim by sheer wishing. Singer referred to one very powerful medicine man as "being able to just wish somebody dead." The victim would be "poisoned" at a distance by the medicine man. As Al Chandler explained the matter:

"There were some bad medicine men who had medicine that could poison you without their touching you or associating with you, no matter how far away they might be from you, even two miles. They wanted to do something to you or to somebody you loved. Then you or your loved one got sick all of a sudden. That was considered a crime. This medicine man may have had it in for you for some reason, jealousy or something like that, and he would poison you. He would just sit in his lodge and perform there and say whom he was doing this to, and this person would get sick or something would happen to him. . . . Some medicine man could poison you without touching you."

The bad medicine man would commonly operate by "shooting" the victim, that is, by projecting some object into the victim's body. Singer was once so "shot" with a finger nail, Coming Daylight's husband, Little Man, with a bit of rag (supra, p. 341). "One man's medicine," according to Thomas Main, "was a sand burr. He could wish it to go a long way off and lodge in a man's throat, and the man would die after a while."

FAILURES AND SKEPTICISM

Failures by doctors to cure were apparently quite common. We 756 were told incidentally of a number of cases. We obtained no in-

756 formation, however, on the causes to which doctors attributed failure to cure.

Some doctors were believed by some at least of the people to resort to deliberate deceit and trickery. Al Chandler remarked that "so many times doctors fake and try to get everything a person owns." An implication to this effect is also contained in his account of the acquisition of doctoring power by his adoptive father, Little Man, and in his direct statement regarding him: "Little Man was honest. He never faked and everybody like him. If he couldn't cure, he wouldn't want anything. He would wait before he took what a person paid because he wanted to see if the patient was really well." Faking by medicine men to get something from a person, he stated, was looked upon as a crime.

Coming Daylight gave a detailed account of her catching one medicine man, in the act of deception.

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756 "At one time a Gros Ventre man named Strong Man was married to a Piegan woman. She was suffering with something in her stomach. It is something that moves in the stomach and causes great suffering. The English name for it, I think, is cancer, but it might be something else. So Strong Man sent someone to call a particular medicine man who, instead of coming right away, said: 'Wait until tomorrow. In the meantime make a lodge and make it well and clean with nothing dirty in it, and have everything ready you intend to give me.'

"I could see this medicine man's house from where I lived. My corral was some distance away around a bend. During the day I saw this man and his wife walking together straight ahead without looking back. When I saw them do so the third time I began to think they were up to something. So I waited and watched, and when they went the fourth time and had gotten as far as my corral, I ran over to their house.

"Sure enough by their bed was a bowl, covered. I ran over and uncovered it. The bag from the end of the guts was in water in this bowl and I said to myself: 'Sure enough. That is just what I thought. He is up to something. He is preparing this 'cancer' or whatever it is that he is going to pull out of that sick woman.' So I ran back quickly to my own house, and when that man and his wife returned home they did not know I had been at their house. 755

"My husband, Little Man, was out hunting horses. When he came back I told him: 'This crazy thing has already prepared what he is going to pull out.' I told him of my visit to the house and of that thing that was in the bowl. That medicine man had told me and my husband to come with him and his wife when he would go to doctor the woman, so we could get something [as payment]. So I told my husband: 'You are going to see that the thing he pulls out is the same thing that is in the bowl.' 756

"So the next day we all went over the hills to Strong Man's place. The others all went into the nice lodge that had been prepared for the doctoring. But I did not go, I just stayed in Strong Man's house, but I could hear them singing. The people who are in there always had to sing when the medicine man is doctoring.

"Little Man sat by the door of the lodge. The man did his medicine work. He always had a white handkerchief and a black one. This time he used the black one. He would kind of do things under that black handkerchief. Of course he did it so quickly that you could hardly see what he was doing. Sure enough, however, he had that thing I had told my husband about and he pretended that he had taken it out of the woman.

"He showed it first to all the men, and one of them said: 'Oh, that is the way this animal looks that eats on a person!' So Little Man looked at it and it was the very same thing I had seen in the bowl. Little Man clasped his hands in the gesture that indicated you think to yourself something is awful or powerful. Then all the women had to look at it and they especially make all kinds of exclamations about that thing. Then they handed it back to the doctor and he cut it up and ate it, and he drank all the water it was soaked in. Little Man was thinking to himself: 'Of all the dirty things he eats!'"

Attention may be called to Little Man's gesture of admiration or awe made in spite of his inner conviction of trickery. This behavior contrasts with Coming Daylight's open flaunting, on another occasion, of her disbelief in the same medicine man. It may be recalled, too (supra, p. 347), that while Little Man used to make fun of Stiffarm for wearing a special bracelet, he was careful not 756

756 to do so in Stiffarm's presence. Making fun to their face of powerful medicine men or so expressing skepticism of their power was evidently not considered prudent.

Skepticism, or at least profession of skepticism, regarding the powers of medicine men or regarding some powers of some medicine man, was not confined to Coming Daylight and her husband, their own skepticism centered mostly on one doctor. We recorded a number of professions of skepticism, but what weight and interpretation should be put on them is not easy to say. Even though Little Man, Coming Daylight's husband, "did not," she said, "believe in Indian doctors," at one time at least, he submitted to treatmenet by Goes Back and became convinced she had extracted the cause of his illness. Another man present at Little Man's cure said, "I too never believed things," but he likewise was convinced when he saw the rag that Goes Back extracted.

In general, our evidence on doctoring points definitely toward the conclusion that the powers of medicine men, both for curing and for causing illness, were all but universally believed in. Such skepticism as prevailed was confirmed to certain individual skeptics and even in these cases or in most of them as regards not doctors in general but only certain individual doctors, and not all powers and procedures of the doctor but only certain ones. Furthermore profession of skepticism need not in all cases of course have been indicative of actual skepticism, and even actual skepticism would give place to belief when the skeptic witnessed cures, or profession of skepticism to profession of belief when the doctor was present. Some of such skepticism as prevailed may well have been a compensation reaction to the size and kind of payment demanded by some doctors. To this matter of payment we now turn.

PAYMENT FOR SERVICES

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465 Some payment or gift was commonly, perhaps always, made to even the non-professional individual who gathered a medicine for you or gave one to you or who treated you, unless he or she was your very close relative. One who wanted "fish medicine" from a person who had brought it back from Minnesota would buy it from him. Singer remarked: "My mother always taught me: 'If

you are not feeling well and someone brings you medicine, say, medicine to clear you out after childbirth, and you have nothing else to give the person, just give a dish of food.'" Coming Daylight, who was not a professional doctor, was called about 1928 to attend a childbirth and, when ready to leave after looking after the mother in every way, was given a big sack of flour, a small sack of sugar, and five dollars in cash. Mary Ereaux, in speaking of the two roots given to Coming Daylight by the latter's grandmother to hasten childbirth and to bring the mother's milk quickly, remarked: "They say that if it [either of these roots] is given to an outsider [not a close relative of Coming Daylight], the recipient must pay, else it wouldn't be any good." "Last winter [1939-40]," Mary Ereaux said on another occasion, "I had a cold. An old lady picked some roots for me and I gave her potatoes and eggs in place of this medicine. They believe such medicine does not work if you don't pay for it, no matter how easy it is to gather the particular medicine." 756 465

A payment or fee was always expected by the professional doctor for his or her services, unless again the patient was a close relative. The doctor had commonly "paid" well in hardship or goods to acquire his power; he expected to be paid well in turn. And even though he had acquired ownership of it, not the hard way by quest or purchase, but by spontaneous offer from some being or by free gift from some relative, he still "paid" in shortened life and in restrictions on freedom. Doctors did not make their whole living from their practice but the fees received by them, especially by "great" doctors, were substantial additions to income and wealth. This economic goal loomed large in the consciousness of the people and of the professional doctor. When, for instance, Bad Bad Bull's sister refused his offer to her of power to cure stomach sickness, people said to her: "You should have accepted this power and so have gotten a lot of things for curing this disease." Doctoring was an avenue to wealth and to the ease and prestige that came with wealth, but in general was not practiced by the young. It was, however, a form of "old age insurance." [556]

Sometimes professional doctors named their fee before accepting a case. "Give me this or that, and I'll doctor you." At other times 756

756 the person cured, or his relatives, gave what they thought equitable. "Sometimes," Mary Ereaux said, "doctors set a price and other times they say 'just what you want to pay.' Ragged Robe, who doctored me, never set a price, because I used to keep him and his wife during the winter. I would just give them, over and above that, whatever I could afford at the time." Coming Daylight, when asked if the doctors set a price, thought this funny. "People," she said, "pay the doctor they call what they think his services are worth,"—a remark which might suggest that the amount of payment was commonly left to the patient or his relatives. When Singer's husband was cured by Good Singer, the latter was given "the best of what they had."

Usually the objects to be given in payment were gathered together and put in view before treatment began and were turned over to the doctor just before or just after treatment, whether cure was actually effected or not. What Al Chandler reported of his adopted father,—"if Little Man couldn't cure you, he wouldn't want anything; he would wait before he took what a person paid, because he wanted to see if the patient was really well,"—was seemingly an exceptional practice.

The doctor would commonly share some of his fee with the men and women designated by him to be present at the rite and to help him.

Sometimes the payment made to a doctor was a modest one. Coming Daylight "every now and then took grub and wood to the medicine woman" who brought her daughter back to health. Ordinarily, however, at least in cases of serious or critical illness, the fee paid was a substantial one, such as horses, blankets, clothing, and large amounts of food.[18]

In Coming Daylight's earlier days, before money came in, clothing or a horse would be given to the main doctor who assisted at childbirth, and additional fees to helpers. One medicine man was paid a whole outfit of clothing, down to the moccasins, and his wife a half buffalo (or elk), for curing Coming Daylight when her "milk was bad" and she feared she would lose her infant daughter. Goes Back received a "nice horse" for curing Coming Daylight's hus-

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[18] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 87.

band, Little Man; Drops In The Fire, a horse for curing Crow Bull; 756
Stiffarm, lots of things, horses and so forth, including "one lovely mare," for treating—unsuccessfully—Little Man. Good Singer received "horses, blankets and such things," for curing Singer herself. Bull Lodge was given "the best horses" for treating Al Chandler's uncle. All the foregoing payments were for cases of serious illness. Mae Main stated that a person who wanted to procure a certain contraceptive root would have to "pay a big price for this, sometimes two or three horses."

Sometimes, how commonly or rarely it is hard to say, a medicine 837
man would stipulate sex relations as his payment or part thereof. 756
Cora Chandler had heard "that some medicine men take women afterwards as part of the payment for curing." "This," she explained, "is why Coming Daylight was afraid of that medicine man when he was stark naked," having disrobed before starting to treat her (supra, p. 338). "Occasionally," Thomas Main had heard, "in very serious circumstances a man, to save the life of a brother or of someone dear to him, would pay the fee of giving his wife [allowing the doctor sex relations with her]."

The relative decline of native doctoring is due in part to the 177
influence of the missionaries and of the civil authorities, in part no 795
doubt to educational and other accultural factors. All the
Gros Ventres today are members of the Catholic Church. "Joe 756
Assiniboine," said Coming Daylight, "a good medicine man, still living [in 1940: he died in 1942 or 1943], never joined the Church; joining would take his power away from him." Stiffarm, one of the last of the great doctors, who died in 1932, on becoming a Catholic and later a catechist, is reported by one informant to have renounced his doctoring powers. One reason Coming Daylight gave for not accepting doctoring power herself was, "my children were all Catholics and I joined the Church and I will be a good Catholic till I die." Little Man, Al Chandler's adopted father, wanted to pass on some of his curing power to him, but Al did not want it, because, he said, he was afraid he would "poison someone" but also on account of the Catholic Church. . . . "The Catholics didn't want you to do such things."

CHAPTER VIII

MISCELLANEOUS PRIVATE RITES AND OBSERVANCES

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Besides the ancestral-helper and power rites and observances, there were a great many other private ones,—private in the sense that they were mostly carried out by lone individuals or by small and often exclusive groups. Most of these other private rites and observances expressed, by word and/or act, either petition or gratitude or both to supernatural beings, and hence most were, in the sense in which we are using the term, "religious" rather than "magical." A smaller proportion of them were of the "magical" order, being concerned exclusively with purely impersonal forces or phenomena. In some cases both "religious" and "magical" concepts and attitudes appear to be present; in most cases, either the former or the latter are exclusively present or at least clearly predominant; in a few cases, it is hard to say whether, from the Gros Ventre point of view, we are dealing with the "religious" or the "magical."

In our field work among other Algonquian peoples we have often found that phenomena, which at first looked "magical," turned out later, on deeper penetration into meaning, to be clearly "religious." We suspect that some of the phenomena to be described in the present section as seemingly "magical" would likewise, with fuller knowledge, turn out to be "religious."

That certain given rites and observances may have a dominantly or exclusively "religious" or "magical" coloring undoubtedly depends on different meanings attached to them by different individuals. For instance, The Boy has a more philosophic mind; he seeks unity, systematization, synthesis, meaning; Singer was more pragmatic in her attitude to the supernatural, and little concerned with synthesis and meaning. In more cases than one, what was religious to The Boy may well have been "magical" to Singer. So at least we strongly suspect, although conclusive evidence for our inference cannot be adduced. We may merely add that in our own

Occidental culture, what some individuals conceive and practice 782
as "religious" is not infrequently conceived and practiced by others 789
as "magical."

Apart however from all such questions and qualifications, by far the greater proportion of the miscellaneous private rites and observances, to the detailed description of which we now turn, are exclusively or predominantly "religious" rather than "magical." We shall take up in order: wish (or wish-thought), prayer, sacrifice, vows, oaths, dreams and visions, omens, divination, taboos. In general, under the first half dozen captions we shall be dealing more with "religious" phenomena, in the remainder more with "magical" ones, but there are certain overlaps and combinations of the two which will be apparent as we go along.

WISH AND THOUGHT: BLESSING AND CURSE

That the Gros Ventres believed in the efficacy, more or less 828
"supernatural," of certain wishes and thoughts about others, of benevolent and malevolent thinking, of—in this sense—blessings and curses, is clear. Exactly how the good or evil wish or thought wrought its effects is not too clear from our field data.

The Gros Ventres in general attach great significance to thought and wish. This theme recurs over and over again in their culture. Here are some illustrations. One of the names of the Supreme Being apparently meant: He who rules all by the power of thought. Some medicine men had special power to harm and kill by sheer wish. The Boy, in discussing the question, "Who among the beings, apart from the Supreme Being, known to the Gros Ventres was the most powerful?" finally narrowed his choice down to two, a certain boy and his sister as the most powerful of all. "The boy had power to do things with his eyes. He would only look and the thing happened as he wished, but that was only in combination with his sister. She would do the thinking and then he would do the looking," and the thing would happen, especially as a result of the girl's thinking.[1] The Boy thought long and intensively

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[1] See Kroeber, 1907, No. 26, The Deserted Children, especially pp. 104-05. This may be the myth to which The Boy referred. Unfortunately we did not get a complete version from him.

828 through the winter what to put in the letter (quoted infra, pp. 380-381) sent in the spring of 1943 to Cooper that would do something big toward restoring the latter to health. "'I think,'" remarked Thomas Main, "is commonly used by the Gros Ventres in speaking. When I am interpreting, a man will often say to me: 'Tell them this is what I *think* of him (or it).' There is an emphasis on thinking and on the power of thought."

We come now to the more specific data on good and bad wishing and thinking.

754 In 1939 while we were chatting about approbrious and insulting
terms, such as tsë:k (you ghost), in common use, The Boy dis-
828 tinguished these from malevolent thinking or wishing or cursing
proper. "As a curse [proper] a person might say to another: 'You are not going to live long.' If a thing were serious enough, almost anyone might worry another with such cursing." On another occasion, the same summer, while speaking of the kinds of advice given children by their father, The Boy quoted his father, Lame Bull, as having said: "If a man were offended by his son and put a curse on his son, the curse would remain on the child."

828 Between our 1939 and 1940 visits to the Gros Ventres, The Boy
had suffered a severe stroke (facial paralysis). At our first talk
[123] with him in 1940, Cooper expressed to him the very sincere wish
that he would get well and live long. The Boy was visibly affected by this expression and spoke at some length as follows:

[626] "If a man does something of which the people disapprove very much, their *thought* is against him. They *think* badly of him. Against this mass thinking his own thinking cannot stand. Two people may have a battle of thinking. The outcome will depend on how each is developed in thinking, on their respective powers of thought. If all the people think badly of a man he becomes a sort of outcast.

"If someone has had some terrible misfortune and is beyond human aid and this becomes known, people will say: 'That is his sentence from above. Someone above thought that out. That is why he is in such desperate straits.' This would be something supernatural, something beyond the human.

"When you said you wished and thought I would live many years

I was glad. Now your wish and thought are added to my own. The human being can think and reason because somebody supernatural has endowed him with the right [ability] to think. The wishing itself helps." 828

A few minutes later, after he had told a recent dream he had had, he voluntarily returned to the wish topic. "When a little while ago you wished that I would get well and live long, I believe that at that moment in which you wished this the Supreme Being was listening to you and saw your thought and knew all about it. In my opinion besides your thinking that way as just a human being, your so thinking calls for some action from above.

"Take another example. Suppose I did something good to an old man, and the old man valued and appreciated it. I would not know he was pleased until he said: 'You have made my heart glad. I appreciate what you have done for me. Stand in front of me. I am going to ask in your behalf from the power above that allowed me to live this long. I am asking with my words, my prayer, my thought, my wish, for all I am worth. And all this wish has to be transferred to you."

In 1945 Thomas Main after a long and serious discussion with The Boy and Thick on this matter of mass thinking and public opinion, summarized the situation as follows: 626 754 828

"The Indian people, at least the Gros Ventres, thought the psychological effect of public opinion is so great and intense on the one on whom it was trained that it shortened his life . . and made him a nobody. If he had a long, long life it was certainly a miserable one. It was definitely known by the Gros Ventres that they actually thought people to death. Even today public opinion is difficult to cope with. The Boy says that if public opinion held anyone in high esteem, this would have the opposite effect and would help the person to climb the heights he wanted to attain. One who was not held in high esteem by public opinion never got anywhere in any endeavor." We may comment in passing that while there is question here of the ordinary operation of public opinion, mass thinking also seems to enter in: "They actually thought people to death."

In the following account by Charles Buckman the wish appears

828 [754 [626] pretty clearly to be operative on its own although along with the "natural" morale-building effect of cheering words.

"There is an old Gros Ventre saying that if a man is ailing and some relative or friend of his comes in and says pleasant things to him or tells him he is going to get well, such a talk helps him. When someone gives the sick person a good talk and sincerely wishes he will get well, then the patient will do his best and get well. If you say unpleasant things to a sick man you will help to kill him. Don't hurt a sick man's feelings. The wish in the case is looked upon as something like a prayer. It has to be really [782] meant. When a person talks that way to you when you are sick, the Supreme Being will look down upon you and help you to get well. If a person is visiting a sick Indian, he will say good things to you, even though he knows you are going to die. A white doctor might say: 'There is not much hope.'

"When 32 years ago I was thought to be dying of appendicitis and had been given up by the doctors, old fellows came in and talked hopefully to me and put new life in me.

"In 1918, when I was ill with the flu, I overheard the doctor say: 'It is only a question of a half-hour. You better get a coffin for him.' Then another fellow, an Indian, came in and said to me: 'Well, what did the doctor tell you?' I said: 'Nothing.' He then said: 'He told that fellow over there that you are going to die. But he is not the governor of death. You are not going to die. You are going to live. You want to live for these children of yours. You are going to get well, and for the sake of these children. And think of the One Above [Supreme Being]. He's going to keep you. That's all I want to say to you. I wish you will be up in a few days.' And he walked out. It took me two years to recover fully."

In one of the songs, No. 67, sung in the Law Enforcers' Dance, the words, "The lead bull, comes in this direction," were explained [782] to us by The Boy as being a "half prayer." The singer was "wishing as hard as he could, so there would be plenty of game, especially buffalo, so the people would not have to go far to hunt."

525 828 The Gros Ventre, The Boy stated in 1939, "did not pray for success in gambling," but just before a wheel game started, the player would take the wheel in his hand and hold one of the

arrows to some part of the wheel and say something silently, "regarding for example, a horse he had captured in a raid: He had to make sure that what he so said was not a lie, all this 'was not a prayer,' but it brought good fortune in the game." 828 525

In a big gambling contest, The Boy told us in 1940, between two opponents in the wheel game, one of them might take up the wheel and his arrow and "think of a war-deed" he had done. "He would use that as a sort of prayer for better luck in the game and would then win. . . . He here used the supernatural. He used words in his mind. He did not talk out loud. . . . He was sort of taking an oath indirectly. In an indirect way he would think: 'I am not telling a lie [about this war-deed]. The powers know I am not telling a lie.' He actually did the deed, otherwise he could not hope to have better luck in the game. It was a sort of indirect prayer. If he were really praying, he would do differently. He was not actually asking any being for anything. He was not appealing to or asking any one particular being, any single being or animal, but was just thinking of everything supernatural."

The Boy further explained in 1945: "The gamblers 'prayed' over the wheel silently. But they were not exactly praying. They were appealing against fate. They were wishing for good fortune and good luck in the game, and they were debating [sic] that thought by thinking of a particular time, when for instance, they brought back a good-looking horse from a war raid. . . . They made that wish silently. . . . They did not swear or take an oath or hold up a pipe. . . . The onlookers would wonder which one of his great deeds the gambler was going to hit his opponent with . . . [later in the game] he could tell what [the war-deed] he had been concentrating on. . . . He had to tell the truth. . . . So practically he had nearly taken an oath."

When a new name was solemnly conferred on a person, the namer while brushing the person with sage would pray for the person after saying to him: "I am going to pray for you. And you yourself at the same time pray and wish for good things." 828 553

So much for the raw field data. What do they mean? Quite clearly, wishing and thinking under such conditions as indicated, while at times associated with and blending into prayer, into mere 828

828 morale-building or morale-destroying remarks, and into public opinion operating on a purely secular or social level, were conceived of as distinct from these, as having a certain efficacy of their own. Quite clearly, too, such wishing and thinking could be either "good" or "bad," beneficent or maleficent, and mass-wishing or mass-thinking by many or all the people had a particularly powerful effect on the beneficiary or victim. Further, it seems reasonably clear that the more sincere and more fervent the wish, the more it came from the heart, the longer and more intensely it had been thought over and pondered and concentrated upon, the more efficacious it was.

PRAYER

782 Prayer is here understood as the expression of position, gratitude, homage, or atonement to suprahuman beings. The expression may be made by word of by act or by both together; if by word, it may be vocal or purely mental. Petitions may be direct or indirect, in the latter case being expressed in an indicative rather than in an imperative form. In all cases the response on the part of the superhuman being or beings addressed is conceived as voluntary, not coerced. Prayer, unlike magic in the sense we have used the latter term, does not have automatic efficacy of its own, and does not force the superhuman being to act as the petitioner desires.

Understood in this broad sense, prayer, by word or act, vocal or mental, direct or indirect, enters into and in fact is the core of all the "religious" as distinct from the "magical" (and "social"), rites described in the preceding chapters and to be described in this present one. For instance, the wish, reported in the immediately preceding pages, may be looked upon as an indirect vocal or mental prayer; sacrifice, to be dealt with presently, as prayer by act, in this case by gift.

Praying had none of the drawbacks of power-seeking or power-possessing. It was urged unreservedly on and practiced by everyone. Its efficacy was universally believed in; at least we recorded no instance or hint of skepticism in the hundreds of references to it made by our informants.

Sincerity and reverence in praying were *de rigueur.* Deep sincerity and reverence were manifest in all the prayers at which we were present. And praying was never talked about jokingly by our informants. The Boy, on one occasion remarked: "If the Indian was praying he put so much reverence, veneration and faith into it that he would make you cry." Levity or irreverence at prayer were distinctly disapproved, as illustrated by the following incident told us by Singer, which occurred during a severe smallpox epidemic when she was a young girl: 782 781

"I was at my grandmother's. She had a big string of beads, and she said to me: 'Now, my grandchild, take this bucket and put these beads in, and you go too,' she said to my (female) cousin. 'Then you must both go to the top of this hill and dig a hole and put the beads in it and bury them. And of course you pray. Tell the Last Born (Last Child), 'I give you this so that I will not get the sickness (smallpox) and so that I will live to a good old age. You both pray!' So I did as I was told. But my cousin got to giggling and laughing, although I was sincere and meant every word I said. I don't know why my cousin thought it was funny, but that is the way she acted. When I got back I told the old woman: 'Grandmother, all the time I was praying and doing what you told me to do, this one here was just giggling as if she were making fun of me.' The old woman said: 'Oh, she should not have done that. I told you both to pray. Now you have spoiled everything. Always be sincere in your prayers. Mean every word you say.' So my cousin got smallpox and died from it. But I am still on earth."

The ritual object most commonly used with prayer was the pipe. A great many examples have been given. No less important than pipe smoking as a medium of prayer was singing. According to Gros Ventre tradition singing was, like smoking, originally sacred. It held a premier place in prayer rites, most of which began with song, each rite having its own song or songs sung only in this rite and in no other. 782

Three questions regarding prayer remain. Who was prayed to? What was asked for or expressed? When were prayers offered?

As has been emphasized, most prayers were directed first of

782 all to the Supreme Being, in the sense that he was mentioned first in them, and many were directed exclusively to him. Underlying this custom was the belief that all or most of the "good" things humans wished for came immediately or ultimately from him. As Coming Daylight said: "We always start everything with a prayer to Ixtcibni:hɔhat, then the sun is mentioned and the Last Child. The old timers still pray but the younger ones who have been to school are rather slack about it."

On Sept. 10, 1939, we had a meal and after it general conference with about ten of the oldest men and a couple of the oldest women present, and with The Boy presiding. Three of these older men, in the course of the long conference lasting all afternoon, spoke on the point as follows:

Spotted Bull: "I have always heard the Gros Ventre speak of Ixtcibni:hɔhat. I have heard the Four Old Men mentioned in prayer, and also Broken Knife, and also the four ridges or periods of the human life span."

Bull Head, about 80 years old in 1939, and though feeble mentally from age, was explicit enough on this matter: "As far back as I can remember, when the Gros Ventres prayed they began their prayer with Ixtcibni:hɔhat. They mentioned the Four Old Men, too."

Iron Man I: "The Gros Ventres prayed to Ixtcibni:hɔhat. They did not pray to or worship the sun as did some of the tribes to the north and west of us."

Thomas Main described as follows the way his old grandfather, still a pagan, used to pray, with use of a pipe when a small group of men would gather "to smoke religiously." He had time and again watched his grandfather praying.

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788 "He would hold the pipe in both hands, with his left hand palm up under the bowl and his right grasping the stem, and with the stem pointing up, nearly vertical. He would look upward first, and then bow his head and close his eyes. Then he would call on the Supreme Being for whatever he was praying for. He would relate what he wanted, with stress on good health, lots of food, no sickness, then [the same] for his immediate relatives, and last for everybody. . . . He would tell his prayer to the Supreme Being,

saying, 'I am going to ask for these things,' and then mention them, but he would not dwell very long on them. He would get away as quick as he could and do all his talking farther down [to the beings farther down in the scale] out of awe and reverence. 782 788

"After his prayer to the Supreme Being, he would lower the stem of the pipe a little and would pray to the Four Old Men in a body, and ask them for what was needed. This was the main body of his prayer. He would ask them to obtain these things from the Supreme Being. This was the longest part of the prayer.

"Finally he would reverse the pipe bowl with the stem pointing downward and with the tip of the stem as near to touching the ground as possible, without touching it, and would say just a short prayer to the Last Child, who is the least of all the beings. This prayer was shorter than the one to the Many Sacred Beings.

"Then he would straighten up. And all the others who during the pipe prayer had sat with heads bowed, reverent, without looking around, would straighten up too and would say: 'Ei:' (except the one who prayed), which means, in a general sense, may it be so, may it turn out so, we hope thus."

After this the pipe was lit and passed around. Thomas Main added: "The person [his grandfather] would say in his prayer, 'I am not worthy to pray, but I have been called upon to do it,' and would add, 'My being a poor unfortunate old man is all the more reason why my prayer should be heard.'"

Many other beings besides the Supreme Being were prayed to as is evident from the many examples already given. Certain prayers as recorded by us were directed to sacred objects. When Coming Daylight, for example, was disposing of the two rattles belonging to Roasted In Coals' sacred pipe, she prayed to them: "Have pity on us. I pity you because you are not even wrapped up. I take my robe to wrap you in. You are poor like orphans." 782

Thus we have prayers of petition directed to creatures, in this case material though sacred objects, with no mention of the Supreme Being. Was this merely a sort of verbal short cut? Catholics, for instance, frequently word prayers by such short cuts, to the Saints or even to sacred objects, without mention of God, 782 and commonly use the expression "praying to the Saints," although they explicitly believe as a fundamental sense of their faith that God alone can answer prayers and Saints however exalted cannot do so. What is idiomatically expressed as "praying to the Saints" actually means "asking the saints to pray to and intercede with God" for the petitioner. Objects however sacred cannot answer prayers but are only symbols and material media of prayer. Have we something similar here, a sort of mental or verbal corner-cutting, in Gros Ventre practice? The question is more easily asked than answered. On the one hand, there is the basic Gros Ventre concept that ultimately all good things come from the Supreme Being. And we would feel sure that from our numerous free interviews with men like The Boy, these men would look upon the prayers we are talking about as "short cuts" only. On the other hand, in the case of the two old women, Coming Daylight and Singer, with their habitual pragmatic concreteness, for the time being at least the lower-order being or the sacred object may have been thought of as able directly to answer prayer. Perhaps different concepts prevailed among different individuals, with some of the concepts not logically consistent with basic Gros Ventre concept above-mentioned which was seemingly shared by everyone.[3]

What did the Gros Ventres pray for? Mostly, it is clear from the numerous prayers we recorded and from explicit statements by informants, for continued and long life, for abundance of food and for good health—and these for the petitioner, for his children and relatives, and for the whole tribe. These petitions recur again and again, in general terms or else, a little less frequently, in more specific ones.

Some typical petitions under the above rubric occurring as parts of prayers recorded are as given in informants' statements: "That there may be no sorrow or suffering in the entire family [of the young man being prayed for by an elder], that they may have life

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[3] In our other ethnological sources for many or most other peoples of the world we have very little detailed and dependable information on the subject of native conceptions of the dependent or independent power in sacred objects for answering prayers proper (as distinct from magical use) addressed to them. The subject is wide open for investigation in the field.

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long, that the household would stand firm and right, that the children would be healthy and good and successful;" "that you won't be sick, that you will be successful in all your undertakings, including hunting and everything;" "good health, lots of food, no sickness," for the petitioner, his immediate relatives, and everybody; "good health [for myself] and good health for my children so they will grow up to be strong;" "long life;" "long life and to get things-food-easy;" "that he [a boy in this case] would be healthy, live to old age, and everything like that."

Blessings of the material and physical order, to ensure long life and abundance, seemed to be most frequently sought. Some of the social order, especially those connected with warfare, came next. Thus, to cite some typical petitions: "that he [a boy in the case] will be a big chief, that he will get the best of his enemy, bring big horses;" "getting a gun, success in war, that they may not get shot."

Absent so far as we could discover were two kinds of prayer common in Christian practice: prayer for a happy future life and prayer for moral strength, for help from the Supreme Being to live up to ethical ideals and to overcome temptation. Nor was forgiveness for moral delinquencies asked in prayer. We did, however, record an occasional instance of atonement rite and forgiveness prayer for purely ritual error, neglect or failing in connection with the Flat Pipe. A co-keeper who carried the Pipe bundle forward instead of stem forward or who hung the wrong way on its tripod had to be ritually cleansed, so too a man who gambled with the keeper. Coming Daylight recently prayed the Flat Pipe to forgive the people attending a Pipe-opening rite that was incorrectly carried out.

Before passing on to the question as to when were prayers offered, we may here give some examples of longer prayers said on more important occasions. Such prayers tended to take a certain flexible pattern,[*] beginning always with an invocation of the Supreme

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[*] The use of the term "stock prayer" by Cooper, 1940, p. 103, to designate these prayers was not so happy, as it may have given the impression to others, as it did to some of our Gros Ventre informants, that the prayer always conformed to a rigid and inflexible pattern.

782 Being. The things asked for in the prayer would differ according to the occasion.

At the elaborate naming feast at which Flannery was adopted
782 and given her name the following two prayers offered by The Boy
553 who was in charge of the ceremony may serve as examples of
[123] these longer solemn prayers of which we are here speaking. As
The Boy makes it a practice to plan carefully whatever he intends to utter in public, we may be reasonably sure that he had given much thought ahead of time to the form and content of these two prayers.

Before partaking of the lunch which was an integral feature of the naming rite, The Boy took a piece of bread and standing held it aloft while he prayed as follows before depositing a bit of the bread in each of the four corners of the stage of the community hall where the rite was held:

553 "Supreme Being, look down upon us as we sit here today. We are going to eat of the food which you gave to us. We are glad.
782 We are thankful for this gift of food that we are going to eat.
539 Whenever we, your children, displease you and do things contrary to your law, forgive us for these, we pray you. Also look down upon us here today as we sit together and help us to successfully portray our poor life which you have allowed us to live by for so many ages. We have reached the end [illegible] that long trail of life that you have allowed us to live by, and [illegible] to your will we accept the conditions of today, different as [illegible] may be from yesterday, because this is your will. And in your mercy and consideration for our conducted [sic] life and assistance, give us food, give us breath, so that we may live out our lives according to your plan. And protect, watch over our loved ones who are participating and fighting in a terrible war,[4] so that they may come back to us safe and unhurt, so that once more they may set their feet upon the soil of their birthplace. This is their heritage."

After lunch and some smoking and chatting The Boy called all to order. Then, seated, he held a pipe stem pointed upward and finally downward and prayed:

"Master of All, of the above and of the below and of the entire

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[4] This refers to the many Gros Ventre young men then, 1945, in the armed forces while World War II was still going on.

universe, and you the Four Old Men, here is a pipe that we are 553
inviting you to place [take? accept?] and look upon our gathering
here today. We, your poor creatures, are desperately trying to carry 782
on and preserve, as one of our traditions, this way [with a pipe] 539
of drawing your attention and your ear. Even though we are old and are reaching and going rapidly towards the sunset of our lives, help us to finish our lives so that we may die of old age. We ask you to look down upon White Shield [Cooper]. In your mercy have consideration for his welfare. Restore him to full health, so that he too may live out his life in good health and peace of heart and mind with us and that he may complete the great work of recording the history of the life of the Gros Ventres and that it may be a true record of that former life and that it may be worthy to be taken in as an annal of history. Then we ask you too to look down upon this white woman [Flannery] who is the representative of White Shield. They together have made possible one portion [of the food] so necessary to make this gathering a success. We ask that these two, White Shield and this woman, may live out their lives with us, and that this white woman in particular may successfully record that portion of the history of the old Gros Ventres that she has been assigned to do and that during her stay [here] so far from her home she may enjoy health, happiness and peace and that she may arrive back safe to her home. And you, the Last Child, of whom it is said to be revealed to us that you have control of the water, look upon our sons and grandsons [those in the armed services in World War II] who are far from home today and who are going to the far corners of the earth over water, fighting to maintain this way of life, protect them when they go over the water so that they may come back home safe."

After this prayer the pipe was passed around ceremonially. 553
Thomas Main, who translated the prayer, which like the preceding 782
one was said by The Boy in Gros Ventre, explained that after mentioning the Four Old Men The Boy had left out He Who Starved To Death who ordinarily was addressed after the Four in Flat Pipe rites. "He, while a great human being, was only a human being and so on a history-making occasion like this one his name was not invoked."

782 This last prayer was said while World War II was still in progress. After it was over and the Gros Ventre young men had returned from service in the armed forces, a very solemn ritual opening of the Flat Pipe was held, on February 6, 1946,—at which unfortunately neither of us could be present. The School Sisters of St. Francis, however, who teach the elementary and secondary grades at the Mission of St. Paul, Hays, were present and took [126] careful notes of the proceedings which they afterwards wrote up and hectographed. Early in the rite, before actually opening the Flat Pipe bundle, The Boy, who had charge of the ceremony, held up a pipe and prayed in Gros Ventre as follows, the prayer being translated for the Sisters by Thomas Main and being preceded by a brief explanatory word by The Boy:

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539 "I will now speak in the first person and give you a prayer [such as] our Gros Ventre forefathers prayed in times of distress to the Turtle who reposes in this [Flat Pipe] bundle and to the Maker of the earth:

"Supreme Being, look down upon me, a poor mortal person, as I pray to You, and appeal to You, in this time of great distress and disturbance among your children, the peoples of this earth.

"I pray to You, a poor and lowly Indian, in the spirit and way that my ancestors prayed to You. I ask that the fires of hatred subside among all men, and that they may now love one another and understand that they are all brothers and must share the handiwork of Your hand, creation, the universe, and all nature. I ask that You may inspire the representatives of the peoples of the earth who are now engaged in a most difficult task, the framing of the terms of peace, so that it may be just and lasting.

"Supreme Being, I asked You to watch over and take care of my grandchildren, the young men of the Indian people, as they went off to all the corners of the earth to fight in the greatest war and conflict of all time for the cause of freedom and liberty, and now that they are back safe to those near and dear to them I feel that You have listened to and granted my prayer. Now, My Father, I ask you again to give to my grandchildren, the veterans of the great war just ended, peace of mind, happiness, good health, and a long life. And that they enjoy the soil of their birth and the land of our ancestors, and that they may gain inspiration from our legends, traditions and heritages and the history of the world that repose in this bundle of the Flat Pipe as the Indian race understands your creation of the world. So that my grandchildren may learn to have that strong character possessed by our ancestors and their utmost sincerity of purpose of [and?] the true philosophy of life on earth. And that they may merge this sterling character into the life of this day and age. 782 539

"As I stand here today, I am fully conscious and fully realize that the White man is here to stay. And that we, the Indians, must live according to his way of life.

"I pray that White Shield [Cooper] may be restored back to good health. And I pray that Chief Woman [Flannery] may live a long, and a healthy, happy life. I pray that the Black-Robed missionaries of St. Paul's Mission [the Jesuit Fathers] may succeed in their efforts to teach us the true way of life. I pray that our leaders of the Indian people may be inspired to do good work for their people.

"My Father, I talk to you today with all of my person, and with all my heart and my mind. I give You thanksgiving for hearing my weak and mortal voice, and from my heart I ask You to again listen to my prayer, which I am making most devoutly and which is my most earnest wish."[8]

The question as to when the Gros Ventres prayed has been partly answered passim in the treatment of the sacred Pipe rituals, the sacred Dances, ghost helpers, and power. We shall here include other occasions and situations calling for or accompanied by prayer: spring time, mealtime, bedtime, hunting, river crossing, storms, the aged. 782

The Gros Ventres prayed, as occasion arose, at all seasons of the year, but spring time was looked upon as a particularly propitious time not only for seeking power, but also for other kinds of praying. The point of view may be illustrated by excerpts from a letter of March 24, 1945, from The Boy to Cooper. The letter was not just dashed off hurriedly or without previous thought. For composing it, The Boy explained orally the following summer to 782 123

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[8] School Sisters of St. Francis, 1946, pp. 3-4.

782 Flannery: "I tried to be well prepared by a long period of study
123 as to what to tell him [Cooper] so that I could do something big for his health, that his health might be restored. I sort of prepared for this all winter long and then decided I would write this letter to him in the Spring of the year when everyone seems to feel good and [to be] glad that they are still living and that they survived the hardships of the winter and that it is time for rejoicing and that even the animals are glad that spring had come around again. They then woke up from their long sleep of hibernation when they bored underground or under a pile of rocks or whichever way they could get away from . . . winter. I tried to get him [Cooper] the full benefit of it. I am glad to hear he liked it. I tried hard to put into words what I wanted for my friend [Cooper], and so that he would get more I chose that time of the year [spring]. That is when all the animals wake up and talk and sing and move around and let the whole world know: 'I am still around too.' . . . They have made a real effort to live that long. . . . They try to keep themselves in existence as long as they can by growing and singing and running and so forth. . . . If I made my friend feel better and was able to master the great distance between us [Montana to Washington, D. C.] with those few words, I am exceedingly glad and will always feel good when I recall that letter and those words because they made him feel good. Besides my words written down, everything that I had went with them."

The Boy's message in the letter, as translated very carefully
[191] from his dictation in Gros Ventre and written down by his nephew,
[212] Thomas Main, was in part as follows:

"Dear friend—As winter is over and spring is on in its place,
123 it makes one feel good. And as I listen to the talking song of the
539 meadow larks they bring back pleasant memories of my association
782 with you. So I am writing this letter to bring my thoughts into expression.

"I hope I can infuse and saturate into this paper my feelings for you and my concern for your welfare and doctor you with the tidings and blessings which the season of spring always brings, when all nature arises from a long sleep, so that you too may enjoy the healing winds and sunshine which abound at this time.

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"I have heard that your health [has not been good] . . . and it 782
is my earnest hope that you may get back your health. I shall 123
never forget nor cease to appreciate the encouragement you gave me when I was losing my health rapidly, and your promise to pray for me so that my health might be restored back to me.[6] I sincerely believe that your prayer was heard, as my health seems to be improving, even in my advancing age.

"So now it is my turn to pray that your life span may be extended, and among other good things to which you apply your mind that you may further contribute to the great study of the races and peoples of the earth.

"I have told you in my story of the Gros Ventres before the days of the white man, which includes the belief of my ancestors, that in the spring of the year is when one's prayers are more readily heard, and that was the time that the Indians in the long ago went to the hills, streams and mountain tops to fast and pray.

"We, the Gros Ventres, pray and implore the Supreme Being to protect our boys fighting on the various fronts in this great war, and so far only one Gros Ventre boy has been killed, out of many who are in the service. And we also pray that this terrible war and this mass killing may soon stop and that a just and lasting peace may be declared, so that the great family of nations may be true brothers again and go on with life in harmony and prosperity. . . .

"I will now close and I am very glad to have spoke to you on this paper and it is my sincere hope that you can feel my words, so that they will do you good and doctor you.[7] With a good and hearty handshake, I am

Your friend
The Boy"

In the spring, The Boy's father, Lame Bull, would at bedtime 782
after all were lying down, sing certain songs after first praying 511
for himself, his household and all the people. Whether this bedtime

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[6] See p. 366, in references to The Boy's illness in 1940. In 1948, The Boy again mentioned gratefully Cooper's prayer for him. [R.F.]

[7] Some of the expressions used in this letter seem to be implicit references to the efficacy of the sincere wish as well as of prayer.

782 [511] praying and singing were done at other seasons of the year and how far as a more general custom by other fathers of families were points we did not clear up.

[264] Before eating food, at least in any more or less formal gathering, a portion of the food was offered up with prayer.

[224] Prayer rites and observances for good hunting were few and simple—as compared, for example, with the numerous and complicated ones practiced by the Algonquian-speaking tribes of the taiga. Abundance of food, which principally meant game food, was commonly prayed for. Two of the Sacred Dances, the Law Enforcers' and the Woman's, had as a purpose success in buffalo hunting. But beyond this, hunting entered little into ritual, and we may recall hunting was conspicuously absent from the power quest. We recorded no rites or observances whatever in connection with the gathering of berries, roots or other plant food.

[484] It was customary on crossing rivers to pray to the Last Child for protection, and to throw into the water offerings, especially shells and eagle-tail feathers, for the Last Child, or the water monster, or both, with some words such as, "I give you this." Sometimes, too, some prayer and offering would be made by a person going to swim, or on other occasions of water hazard.

During or just before severe thunderstorms, various prayer and other procedures were resorted to, many of them directed to Bha'a, the storm being.

Seeking indirectly or asking directly the prayers of the aged, especially for long life, took several different forms, and played an important role in Gros Ventre life, as we have explained elsewhere.

There were many different ways of seeking the prayers of the aged. We recorded the following, which may or may not exhaust the list: crying before a lodge, offering a pipe, promising a sweat-lodge, "holy boiling," providing a feast, doing favors of various kinds.

782 888 "Holy boiling," to which we have not as yet referred, was an observance distinct both from the preceding ones and from feasting a group of aged people. It was intended primarily for some one person, man or woman, although others partook of the meal, and

could be offered by women as well as men. The person doing the "holy boiling" would have in mind the attainment of success in life. To be chosen as the person for whom the "holy boiling" was done was looked upon as a "great compliment" by the old man or old woman—it was always a very old person—so chosen. 782 888

The Boy described one such holy boiling, done by a woman in fulfillment of a vow (men too could make such a vow). The following is a summary:

The vowing woman (the hostess) chose a particular old woman (the guest of honor) to do the praying for her at this holy boiling, and after cooking a lot of food notified the old woman of the choice and invited a number of women friends. No men participated. On arrival, all sat down,—with the chosen old woman in the place of honor and the others in their places, and with food placed before each. The old woman took some cooked dog, held it up, and prayed in four directions. Then she gave four little pieces to the hostess and told her: 'Bury these in four spots, north, east, south, and west, inside the lodge.' The hostess did so, and then prayed, mentioning the Last Child, and buried a bit of food where she was. Then the other women present, on being invited, prayed each a short prayer and buried a bit of food, pushing it under the dirt, and included the Last Child in the prayer. Then all ate.

Very like "holy boiling" was offering a feast to a *group* of old men and old women. (In "holy boiling" some one old man or woman was *the* guest of honor.) The custom is still observed among the Gros Ventres. "A young man," The Boy said, who had witnessed such feasts, "would tell his wife to cook a lot of choice things and then would invite a number of people to the feast, old men and old women. He would send the crier to shout out loud: 'So-and-So [the host] invites you, So-and-So [names of the invited guests]. Come to his lodge.' The people would understand: 'That fellow is inviting old people.' These very old people, some perhaps blind or with canes, would come and sit down, without any religious rite. They would realize what the host was doing, appreciate his inviting them and not looking down on them, and would say: 'This man is pitying us. He is giving us a good meal and smoke and treating us well. Let us pray for him.' . . . Then

782 888 one of the old men would take a plate or cup of some choice food and hold it up (not praying with a pipe) and pray, before the food was distributed to the various guests, to the Supreme Being (but not mentioning the Last Child) for the young man host's entire family or household, . . . that there would be no sorrow or suffering in the family, that they would have long life, that the household would stand firm and tight, and that the children would be healthy and good and successful. Then the old man would set the plate of food down and food would be distributed to all the old people. . . . Some old person would then suggest: 'Let us all pray.' Then each, including the old man who had prayed, would take a little bit of food, hold it up to the Supreme Being . . . and all would pray audibly but in a low voice, so there was a sort of humming there, each using his or her own words . . . and each would wind up by mentioning the Last Child and pushing the bit of food in the earth. . . . All this praying by the old people was done spontaneously [not requested by the host] . . . and voluntarily . . . , but the young man would be disappointed if the old men and old women did not pray for him and his family. . . . If the old people prayed they always did so before they ate. After they ate would have been too late to pray."

Sacrifices

782 Sacrifice, in the more restricted sense of the term, may be defined as the giving or offering of some material possession, usually prized as of intrinsic or of symbolic worth, to a supernatural being or beings, the giving itself being signified by expropriation of the object through destruction, segregation, or other process. In a more inclusive sense, the offering may be of something non-material, such as privation or pain or self-torture voluntarily undergone. In this section on sacrifice we feel that we shall be closer to the Gros Ventre point of view if, under the caption sacrifice we include both offerings that come under either the restricted or the inclusive sense of the term. The Gros Ventres draw no sharp line between, offerings of, for instance, a blanket, a little finger, a minute bit of one's flesh, and some of the types of self-torture to be described. All are things offered to supernatural beings.

The filled pipe offered with prayers comes clearly within our definition of sacrifice; incense and invitations to supernatural beings to sweat in sweat-lodge rites, probably so. On the other hand, wearing apparel and other objects buried with the dead were not sacrifices as they were not intended as offerings. When a person was going off to where he would have good food and drink, a stay-at-home relative or friend might laughingly say ~~to him~~: "Don't forget me. Give me some food (or whiskey)." The one who went off would at the time of the meal hold up some food or drink in the direction of the stay-at-home and say: "Here's your food (or whiskey)," and would dip his finger tips in the whiskey and sprinkle it with his finger tips in the direction of the stay-at-home. The custom shares part of the pattern of certain first-fruit-sacrifices to be described presently, without of course being a sacrifice.

Expropriation was symbolized or effected in many ways: by holding up the object, burying it, pouring it on the ground, sinking it in water, hanging it on trees or poles or lodges, positing it on the Sacred Pipes ("covering" them), laying it away up on the hills, giving it away to the needy,—never, so far as we recorded, by burning or other type of intentional destruction proper. Things buried or sunk in the water were not in the Gros Ventres concept "destroyed," but thereby given to the Last Child or water monster whose home was beneath the earth surface or under water.

In general, sacrifices were offered to nearly the same beings to whom prayers were addressed. Most frequently mentioned among the beings to whom offerings were made were, first and foremost the Supreme Being, then the Sun, the Earth, Bha'a, the Last Child, the water monster(s), the power-bestowing-beings, ghost helpers, Little Spirit, the Pictograph Beings, and certain sacred rocks and other natural objects, and, last but not least, the Sacred Pipes.

Among the more common objects offered were: food, usually in the form of "first-fruits," puppy meat and delicacies having symbolic value; tobacco; sweat-lodges and sweatbaths; articles of apparel and other daily use, especially robes, blankets, necklaces, earrings, beads, "pearls," eagle tail feathers; scalps; bits of flesh, finger joints; self-inflicted privations and sufferings; in one case to be mentioned (p. 388), life itself. All in all, food offerings, though common, seem to have been less prominent in the Gros Ventre sacrificial complex than were offerings of other things. Tobacco was the only offering drawn from the native flora. Bits of meat were offered as first fruit sacrifices, and puppy meat was offered ghost helpers. But there were no blood animal sacrifices proper, that is, no ritual sacrificial killing of animals. Such ritual sacrificial killing is, in other parts of the world,—with rare exceptions of domesticated animals, of which the Gros Ventres had only two, dogs and horses, until very recent times. While the Gros Ventres prized puppy meat as a delicacy, they never ate horse meat. The horse entered in no way into the Gros Ventre sacrificial pattern, not even as a food offering. Puppy meat was essentially a food offering; puppies were not as such ritually killed as sacrifices.

Sacrifices were offered for about the same ends for which prayers were offered. They were made mostly to obtain blessings of the material and physical order: long life, abundance of the necessities of life, cure of illness, and so forth; not for gambling success, for moral strength, or for happiness in the future life. Thanksgiving was commonly expressed in sacrifices; likewise, implicitly at least, homage, recognition of dominion, reverence and affection, particularly but not exclusively in first-fruits food offerings. Among the scores of sacrifices we recorded we came across none made to ask forgiveness or offer atonement for moral, or even ritual, transgressions.

So much for generalizations. A great many specific types of sacrifice have been given passim in preceding pages on the Sacred Pipes, Sacred Dance, Ghost Helpers and Power. We are here adding some types of sacrifice not previously dealt with: first, some scattered types; then, in order, sacrifices of food (first fruits and puppy meat), and of person (flesh, finger, self-torture); and finally, the sweat-lodge, as commonly associated with sacrifice.

Offerings,—blankets, "pearls," and so forth,—were commonly thrown in water; regularly when crossing large rivers such as the Missouri, sometimes, ad libitum, when going swimming. These were more commonly made to the Last Child, or to the water monster(s) living under water by whom it may be recalled drowned persons are grabbed or taken. The offerings were made to pacify the water monster, apparently appease his greed and so avoid being captured and dragged down by him. Coming Daylight was always afraid of boats [bull boats] and when crossing a river would do so riding lodge poles or a log. Everybody used to laugh at her for this "because it looked more like the man's place to hang on the log" and her grandmother told her: "Don't ride on a log again, because this water bug [water monster] is certainly choicy about whom he picks on!" Cora Chandler explained: "Everybody says that when they put an offering in the water it disappears right away like somebody grabs it. And they say this water animal,—a bug that is supposed to have a kind of horn,—likes these 'pearls' such as Singer gave. Even nowadays people always want pearls to offer in the springs where they bathe. When anyone bathes in hot springs in Wyoming he always put in an offering just like in the old days."

When a young fellow was going off on a war party a sister or other relative might take a robe or other valuable object and put it on top of the lodge saying: "I offer this that my brother (or other relative) may come back with good luck and bring something."[*]

A young man, asking the prayers of an aged person, might be told by the latter to take eagle tail feathers or some other object out on the hills, hold up the object, to the Supreme Being and then to the sun, and pray for what was desired.

The offering of earrings to "Walking Rock" is mentioned infra. Mary Ereaux' grandmother, before smoking, would "offer tobacco to Mother Earth and the Sun."

Mary Ereaux also related the following experience, involving the offering of human lives: "I had just gotten out of the hospital after an operation and there were ten small lodges there and I stopped to talk to the people. An old man named Magpie jumped up and said: 'Here is Kills All [M. E.] back from the hospital.' I shook hands with him and his wife. He said: 'When we heard you had gone to the hospital for an operation we told Ixtcibni:hɔhat

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[*] Cf. Flannery, 1953, pp. 112-13.

782 [white man above, Our Father] in our prayer, so you would return safe: 'Oh, White Man Above, Our Father, spare her life. If you are going to take anybody, we are willing that you should take us in her place. She is young and has children and lives happy. But we two are old and starved anyway, so if you want to take anybody, take us.'

"I told him: 'An operation is not dangerous if you have it in time.' Strangely enough both he and his wife died within a month. It was just like he had bought my life. I feel badly even now when I think of it. Their one son married one of my daughters. . . . Old man Magpie was one of the old timers."

782 264 Food offerings, except perhaps the puppy meat given the ancestral spirit helper, were typical "first-fruits" sacrifices, made before eating. These offerings were regularly made, as we have seen, before any more or less formal, festive or ritual meal partaken of by a group, and at least very commonly before even everyday family meals at home. The latter everyday usage is explained in the following statement of informants:

Charles Buckman: "Before eating, a piece of meat is held up and so offered to the Master of All, and then is put on the ground."

Coming Daylight: "Whenever they [the Gros Ventres] eat and in their ceremonies, they never eat right away, but have a prayer, like this [here she held up her right hand]: 'Now here it is, I promised you, Our Father, the One Traveling [sun], and the Last Child.' "

The little chunks of food given in this first-fruits sacrifice rite to the Last Child were "pushed in the dirt or ground and sort of covered up with a little dirt,"—in the indoor modern rite previously described, deposited in cracks in the plank flooring.

782 As appears from the foregoing accounts considerable minor variations occurred in this first-fruits rite at meals.

The only first-fruits sacrifice connected with hunting proper, as distinct from eating, was the piece of liver and bit of fat deposited, as a thank offering to Little Spirit, on the west side of killed game.

[252 262] Puppy meat was looked upon by the Gros Ventres as a delicacy. Cooked puppy meat was commonly offered as food to ghost helpers on their visits. After the puppy was killed, the hair was

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singed off at a fire, and the insides taken out without skinning the 252
animal; then it was quartered up and boiled. 262

In addition, Charles Buckman stated: "If a party went out to war and met the enemy, before the actual fighting began a man might promise to give grub and a feast to old people, and as part of the feast there had to be a dog,—a pup, of any color. After the party got back home [at the feast, before eating] four pieces of the dog meat were taken and held up and then set on [in] the ground, one each to the north, east, south and west. The pieces were held up as offered to God—in thanksgiving and as a prayer for future favors. Then the young man served the grub to the old people. Before eating they would say, 'O God, this young man has fulfilled the promise he made to you,' and they would pray for him."

What we may call, for want of a better name, sacrifices of person 782
or somatic sacrifices, took three main forms: offerings of flesh, 785
of finger joints, and of self-inflicted suffering and/or privation.
Each of the first two is a sacrifice in the strict sense of the term; 304
the third, in the broader sense. The gashing of arms, legs or face
as a mourning custom was quite distinct in the Gros Ventre [765]
mind from the above flesh offering: it expressed sorrow, it was not in any sense a sacrifice or offering to the deceased. No sacrifices at all were connected with mourning. Nor were finger joints ever cut off as a mourning observance.*

In most instances recorded by us, these somatic sacrifices were made in fulfillment of vows for the cure or safety of a close relative of the vower,—as, it may be recalled, was the case with self-torturers in the Sacrifice Dance. There were exceptions however: in their respective quests for power, Bull Lodge cut off a finger joint, and Little Man, Al Chandler's adopted father, cut off bits of flesh; the other Little Man, Coming Daylight's husband, when suffering from hemorrhages and pains around the heart was told in dream that he would get well if he underwent solitary self-torture.

Women as well as men would make offerings of their flesh and finger joints. To judge from the records we obtained, the finger joint sacrifice was more frequently made by women than by men,

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*Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 205.

782 the flesh sacrifice with about equal frequency by the two sexes.
785 Ordinarily only a little of the woman's flesh was cut, small bits,
304 as against the large bits or strips not infrequently cut from the
man. Only men underwent solitary self-torture out in the hills.

With these generalizations on somatic sacrifices covered, we shall now take up specific features of the flesh, finger and self-torture sacrifices in order.

In the early archaic times Niːhəhat, as we have seen, gave detailed instructions on cutting off bits of flesh when explaining about the Flat Pipe sweat-lodge.

The rite was described by The Boy (Thick present and concurring) and, with some differences, by Singer, as follows:

The Boy (and Thick). "The cutting off of bits of flesh was a rite all to itself. A round hole was made in the ground for the heated rocks; a common sweat-lodge was erected; a mound was made of the dirt excavated to make the hole; a buffalo skull was put on the mound; and a pole was put up for offerings. . . . The one to be cut would get as an operator someone who had gone through the rite himself. . . . The cut off flesh was offered to the Supreme Being. . . . Usually the rite was undergone so that some sick person who was near and dear to the undergoer would get well. . . . The skin was not pierced but a piece of green branch was split in two, and the two pieces were pressed hard, parallel and not quite touching each other, on the skin making it rise up, and these raised strips were then cut off. . . . One of my grandfathers was all cut up, with two half circles on his chest, one half circle on the outer side of each shoulder, a double row of cuts—not little bits, but strips cut right down—on both his upper arms and forearms and legs from hip to ankle. All these cuts were made on a single occasion. It was thought he would die of this sacrifice but he did not. . . . I myself had four bits of flesh cut from my arm, and others [farther] up my arm. [He here bared his arm and showed the scars: they were not crescent shaped.] The first cutting was done when I was a child. I was told to look away when it was being done. Sometimes children would run away and hide when told it was to be done to them. . . . Only three or four years ago [this would be about 1935-36] an old man so cut off a young man's skin back of Thomas Main's house." (The cut off pieces of skin were, as at the Sacrifice Lodge, placed on the buffalo skull, "as an offering of the [person's] very body.") 782 785 304

Singer. "For cutting offerings of flesh from the arms they usually tried to get the same doctor who cut off my finger joint (see infra). He would take the flesh, put a needle through it and cut the flesh off. . . . He would then put the cut-off flesh in one of the bags from around the buffalo or cow heart which were used to carry water, and would hang it up or bury it. Women could not do the flesh cutting for themselves; they had to have a man doctor to do it. You promise so to torture yourself for some reason such as the wish to save the life of your sister or brother or other relative. For instance, if some young fellows were going off on a war party, the sisters would get out and make some such promise as: 'I will give part of my flesh or my finger if my brother comes back a great warrior.' It was great to have somebody [some relative] come back a hero, a brave man, or, as they called it, a big chief. . . . A wife could do this for her husband but usually it was a sister who thought that much of her brother. . . .

"I have a scar on my left upper arm [which she showed]. I had made this promise for the recovery of one of my daughters who was ill. A sick person is doctored, but such a promise is made as a last resort. Lame Bull told me they were going to make a big cut, like the ones they made on men. The cutting was done in a sweat-lodge where they all sat and prayed. They blackened the spot on my arm with charcoal,[10] then clipped the flesh off and held it up to the sun and said: 'This is what we offered you.' He cut me in four places on each arm. My husband was mad because it was too much. The one place on my left arm where the scar is was cut deeper than the others. After I made that promise I had the cutting done right away. [Mary Ereaux, our interpreter, here [191] interrupted: "Goodness, you might just as well have done like the Sacrifice Dancers. You tortured yourself just as badly."] I held myself in but they certainly hurt me. They did not put anything on the wounds, only the charcoal beforehand. People try to

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[10] Blackening sacrifices was a common (perhaps *the* regular) Gros Ventre procedure.

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take anything like that very patiently" ["Like our Lord being crucified," Mary Ereaux commented].

Very much the same procedure as regards the sweat-lodge, buffalo skull and so forth was ordinarily followed when a finger joint was amputated. The cut-off joint was offered commonly to the sun, or to the Supreme Being. The operation regularly took place inside a sweat-lodge. "A joint from any finger could be offered up, but usually it was the first joint of the little finger of the left hand. The offerer would put his or her finger on a log or stone; the operator, someone skilled in the matter, would then place a knife on the joint and hit the knife with something heavy. [752] Sage was put on the wound, to stanch the flow of blood and help healing. Children in their play, it may be added, would in make-believe cut off little fingers, apply sage and so forth.

The finger amputation complex may be illustrated by Singer's experience:

"My infant daughter [one of her three children by Iron Bucket] had been ill. I sacrificed [in a delayed fulfillment of her vow] the end joint of the little finger of my left hand. . . . I said: 'I give you this. This is what I sacrifice to save my child's life.' This I said to the sun which is God's work, His property like. . . . I held the baby and my husband prayed: 'Sun, she has given you her finger so our child's life will be saved.' . . .

"The rite was private, not a big ceremony. We went out of the lodge and the sun was about half way up and he [apparently the operator] held up my whole left hand and said: 'Now, Passing or Traveling Man, this is what she is going to give you.' There was just one old man who cut off fingers. They claimed he had [this power from] a dream. . . . He was the father of Dwarf; Dwarf died just recently.

"They had me lie face down and the others held me so I would not move. The old man [Dwarf's father] . . . told me to relax, . . . felt around, found the joint, put my finger over the lodge pole and chopped it [the end joint only] off. I did not see it but I heard when he hit the lodge pole. But there was no pain. Then they let me sit up.

"The old man said: 'Do you want it to bleed, or shall I close

it up right away?' My husband said, 'Let it bleed,' because he was 782
afraid it would be sore if it didn't bleed. So when the old man 785
thought it had bled enough, he chewed some big-leaf sage, made a 304
poultice, and put it on my finger (and/or "sprinkled powdered root on my finger," she added later). It healed quickly and never [752] troubled me. . . . We had to give the old man something for doing that. . . . My daughter lived to be a young woman."

Self-torture out on the hills,—"sacrifice alone on hills," as it was called,—had much in common with self-torture at the Sacrifice Dance. The chief difference was that, unlike the Sacrifice Dance torture rite, it was done in solitude. The self-torturer had to have a ritual grandfather, a man who himself had previously undergone this solitary self-torture—this in contrast to flesh and finger [608] cutting in which there were no ritual grandfathers. The "grandfather-grandson" relationship so contracted persisted after the rite was over. Coming Daylight and The Boy were in agreement that the solitary self-torture was a more severe ordeal than self-torture at the Sacrifice Dance.

Those mentioned by our informants as having gone through "sacrifice alone on the hills" were: Stiffarm; Running Crow (Stiffarm as his "grandfather" for this rite); Coming Daylight's husband Little Man (Running Crow as his "grandfather"); her cousin White Skunk, son of Crow Bull; The Boy's brother; Jim Shortman; and perhaps Sits-in-the-Middle. On Stiffarm's, Running Crow's, and Sits-in-the-Middle's experience we obtained no details; on White Skunk's, no details beyond the fact that he underwent it "because my [Coming Daylight's] son was sick at the mission school: that son died anyway," and that he did "right on this hill here [at Hays]." The detailed accounts of Little Man's experience as narrated by Coming Daylight, of The Boy's brother's as narrated by The Boy, and of Jim Shortman's as narrated by himself, to be given now, will help to fill out the generalized picture of the rite in the preceding paragraph.

Coming Daylight's account of Little Man's "sacrifice alone on the hills," given in separate fragments on four different days, is here presented just as she gave it.

"My husband Little Man [Deafie] went out to the hills. When

782 anyone so goes to be tortured someone else goes along. It was
785 awful when they so went to pray and cry and sacrifice themselves.
Running Crow went with Little Man, as the latter's grandfather,
304 to pierce his breast and insert the skewers whereby he was attached
to the pole by a thong. [After that was done] Running Crow gave Little Man a push and Little Man danced round and round the pole. Running Crow and Stiffarm, who went out with him [just as helper, not as grandfather], left Little Man, as was customary, alone. Then sometime during the day the two returned and gave Little Man a smoke, but the latter did not eat or drink anything. He would be hungry and thirsty and would run around without even moccasins on his feet. It is an awful sacrifice. He would dance until the skewer pulled out of his flesh. Then he would be tired and would sleep and dream.

"Little Man went through this rite on account of a dream. He had been sick [heart pains and hemorrhages] and had dreamed he was going through the rite, and in consequence did later actually carry it out. He carried it out at Chinook where we were all living at the time. During the rite his mother sang war songs in her camp.

"Little Man had not tortured himself in any big celebration [Sacrifice Dance]. He did this only alone on the hills. It is hardest this latter way. It takes longer to break off [for the skewer to tear through the flesh] in the heat [sic]. It is awfully hot out in the hills and the self-torturer goes barefoot, without moccasins. He dances west to east, counter clockwise, from sun up to sun down. It is not so hot in the lodge at the big celebrations [Sacrifice Dances]. It is a greater thing to do it alone.

"The time my husband, Little Man, did this I too was away on the hills. I pitied my old man [husband] and did not eat. I came home in the evening to cook for him. We always help a relative when he fasts like that. My husband's mother and sister were at home together with another woman relative, Ed Blackbird's wife."

After Little Man's self-torture was over, he was told in a dream
[787] the exact kind of leaf (or root) to use for curing his hemorrhages
and just where it was to be found, Coming Daylight was able to
find it, and Little Man was cured.

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The Boy's narrative of his older brother's experience gives insight into the brother's feelings during the ordeal as well as detailed information on the rite itself. His brother had undergone self-torture once at a Sacrifice Dance and twice alone on a hill. The occasion of one of the two solitary rites was the following. Lame Bull had adopted a young boy who grew up as one of the family and proved himself worthy. The adopted boy and The Boy's older brother, both now dead, were sort of favorite sons of Lame Bull. The adopted son suddenly became mentally unbalanced. It was for his cure that The Boy's older brother vowed solitary self-torture. After the fulfillment of the vow the adopted son recovered.

The older brother, before the solitary rite, gave a pipe to a man to pray with and to announce out loud the coming rite and the name of the "grandfather" selected. At the end of the prayer the announcer released the pipe to the ritual grandfather who then took charge of the rite, piercing the vower and later cutting him loose.

The skewer punctures were made by first plunging a big awl into the skin on the side of the chest, the vower lying on his back. Then with the awl the skin was raised up, and a knife plunged point first right through the skin at right angles to the awl,—making in all three perforations of the skin, one by the awl and two by the knife point. Then the knife was withdrawn, the stick or skewer was pushed through at once while the holes were fresh, and finally the awl was withdrawn. One end, slashed, of a buckskin thong was put over the two projecting ends of the skewer, and the other end attached to the top of the pole anchored on the hill or knoll.

With the thongs so attached to the pole and the skewers [in the vower's chest, right and left side], the vower walked and ran, from sunrise to sunset, clockwise, starting at the south and ending there, then counter-clockwise, all through the day. He would go around so often that he would make a trail there.

The brother's feelings, as described by him to The Boy, are here given in The Boy's words:

"Out on the hill was the most severe [as compared with the Sacrifice Dance] for the reason that he had to do it all alone. From time to time he would rest, exhausted and crying. [When going]

782 785 304 he would stretch himself good and tight [the thongs taut, his body weight pulling on them]. When he rested and wanted to relax and let the thongs go slack, the pain was worse than when they were taut. The skin over the skewer would dry up (and would work toward the living skin). . . . At sundown my brother's 'grandfather' came to him, and the toughest part of all occurred. My brother had not during the day tried to break loose [by body pull to make the skewer sever the skin], as at the Sacrifice Dance, for his 'grandfather' was to cut his skin loose. My brother all but died when he was cut loose. It was as if his heart was being cut. And at night, after both the Sacrifice Dance and the solitary ordeal, the pain was so intense, as if there were two red hot coals there [where the flesh was cut], that he could not sleep."

Jim Shortman (died 1948), probably the last Gros Ventre living who had gone through the solitary self-torture rite, gave the following account of his experience:

"The sticks [skewers for thongs] were about three inches long. (Here Jim undid his shirt to show the scars which were still visible on his chest.) My helper [ritual grandfather] was Running Crow. He was the man who fixed me up, pierced my flesh and fastened the thongs. My self-torture alone took place on a hill way out.

"My first struggle and ordeal in all that I was to do was to follow a command by Running Crow for me to go to the stream and break off a quaking aspen tree, but not to cut it with knife or axe,—to break it off in some way and bring to where I was going to do the fasting. So I went and twisted and worked and wore the ground just smooth around the tree with my efforts, and finally I got it down and twisted it off. I put a rope around it and dragged it to the scene of the fasting, and I had to accomplish this before sun-up of that day.

"So Running Crow went with me on my way to the scene of the fasting, which was a little west of where I and Paul Shortman now live. Just to the right of it is a little ridge. That is where I did it. The reason I vowed to do this was because my mother was at the point of death. She was very sick and I carried out my vow and she got well

"Paddy Skinner came along to help Running Crow dig a hole and fix in it the pole I had twisted off and tamp it in the ground securely. After they put up that pole or tree, Running Crow tied all of my offerings up there on top and also fastened the rope that was to be secured to the sticks in my chest. 782 785 304

"After this tree was made secure in the ground, Running Crow told me to take my clothes off, which I did, and he made a paste of white clay and painted my body with it. So these two men told me to lie down on my back and face my head towards the rising sun. Then they took a knife, and a big needle in the other hand, and lifted the skin on my upper arm and cut off seven pieces of my skin. Then they did that to my other arm. This made fourteen pieces in all. They put these pieces they had cut off at the foot of this tree. Then they cut off seven more pieces on the outside of each of my thighs, and by that time it began to hurt.

"Then last they cut my chest, the right side first. They pierced me there with the blade of a pocket knife and pushed the stick [skewer] in as soon as he released the blade. Then they repeated this on my left side. They told me to stand up so they fastened the thongs onto these sticks. Running Crow did that.

"Then after these things were securely fastened, Running Crow put the palm of his hand on my chest and pushed me four times to make the ropes tight. He stepped to my right side and pushed me four times too, and at the same time he told me: 'Now you begin your fasting and your actual performance of your vow and you must begin by crying.' And I did all that. And Running Crow told me: 'Go around this pole, round and round clockwise, and when you get tired you can lie down or sit down anyway you find restful, but always keep the ropes tight and do not loosen them, much less take them off.'

"Finally I got tired and I thought I would lie down and rest, and I did lie down but I did not rest well. In fact it seemed to be worse. Even the wind making the thongs sway hurt me. I had started out without eating or drinking anything. I was fasting. I had a terrible ordeal, to say the least, but I found that when I pulled tight [pulled the body away from the pole and kept the thongs taut] I suffered less.

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"Just before the sun went down that day, all at once I felt something touching me on my left side. It was Running Crow and the other man who stopped me. This meant that my fasting and chastizing myself were about over.

"They took off those thongs and told me to lie down in the same position that they had told me to lie in at the beginning. That is when I suffered the most. They did not take the sticks out, but just cut those thongs off and it seemed to me as if they were cutting my heart. Those fellows took those pieces that my skin was still clinging to and buried them at the foot of the post. And that is my experience. They told me to put on my clothes and I did so. I did not experience or perceive anything out of the ordinary. I just suffered. That is all.

"After I put on my clothes I found out that the skin of my feet was worn off and blistered and sore, and they sure hurt me. And to add to my aches, on the soles of my feet I was awfully sore the next morning and couldn't walk. And that is the end of my experience."

SWEAT-BATH

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In Gros Ventre ritual, sweating and sacrificing were quite closely associated. Invitations to sweat extended to the Supreme Being and other beings in certain sweat-lodge rites,[11] such as those connected with the Flat and Feathered Pipe ceremonies, were of the nature of gifts or offerings, and hence sacrifices in the broader sense of the term. Then, too, the sweat-lodge and sweat-bath were a chosen medium for making offerings or consummating the sacrificial rite: the pole erected in front of the sweat-lodge and the buffalo skull on the adjacent mound were intended particularly for the attachment to and disposition of respectively sacrificial objects,—offerings of robes, bits of flesh, and so forth. Furthermore, the sweat-lodge was a preferred place in which to make sacrifices of flesh and of finger joints.

On other occasions too sweat-lodge and sacrifice went together. For instance, a man whose son had been killed by the enemy might

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[11] Kroeber, 1908, pp. 274-75, gives an account of sweating and mentions that "Above-white-man" was called first.

offer a pipe to a band chief and ask him to avenge the son's death. 782
The chief would accept the pipe and pray to the Supreme Being
for success in the revenge expedition. Then the father would erect 515
a sweat-lodge and make offerings in connection therewith, inviting a lot of "holy" old men to sweat and likewise to pray to the Supreme Being for success in the expedition.

Al Chandler gave the following account: "A young fellow would 346
go and tell some old medicine man that he was going to make a 515
sweat-bath for him so that the old man would pray for him, and
would ask him what he [the young man] should do, whether there 782
was a certain special way of performing the ceremony, and how the sweat-lodge should be fixed. The medicine men had all different ways. Some medicine men would have, say, 18 willows at least for the sweat-lodge framework, or others 26, or 30 at the most, with four willows called the 'head frame' oriented toward the sunrise, or the north, or other direction. A hole about six inches deep was dug inside for the heated rocks and the surface cleared about an inch down from the hole to the door. On this cleared space, shaped more or less like a truncated triangle, some design in red paint might be drawn—such as a circle, or figure of a bird or man. A dozen different men might follow one particular set of specifications in case they had all gotten the right to do so from the same [medicine] man.

"The fire for heating the rocks was made about 8 to 10 feet from the door of the sweat-lodge, and the dirt dug to make the hole in the lodge was put in a nice pile about 4 to 5 feet beyond the fireplace on the same axis therewith. The offerings made by the young fellow—such as calico or feathers—were tied on a willow stick about 6 or 7 feet long. He had also to get the rocks, to no specified number.

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"When all was ready the old fellow would tell the young man 782
to get, say, 7 to 9 old men to come and join them. When they arrived, the rocks were all heated. The young man then gave the old man [the one he had first approached] the willow stick with the offerings tied to it. The old man then went to the dirt pile, faced in the direction in which the lodge faced, and holding the offerings on [over?] the pile prayed as loud as he could: 'God,

515 762 come and listen to me. God, come and get in the sweat-bath with me. Here is what X [naming the young man] gives you as an offering!' Then he would go on to pray for the young fellow and would tell who had given him [the old man] power to make the sweat-bath this particular way: 'You gave me this for some purpose, so you must come and help me now. This young man has gone to a lot of trouble to do this for me and you. So listen to me and help this young man, whatever his wish is.' Then he stuck the offering in the dirt pile, to remain there while they were all inside the lodge sweating.

"After he and the invited old men got inside the lodge, he would appoint one of them to pour the water on the heated rocks. The [801] appointee would ask, 'How much for the start,' and would be told, 'Four times' or maybe 'Seven times,' either four or seven. The appointee would then pour, the required number of times, just enough, say about one third of or a whole cupful, to make a little steam. Then the leading old fellow would say: 'Now it is up to you. Pour any amount you want.'

"Then all those old men prayed inside for the young man, who remained outside and had to look after the rocks and the opening up of the sweat-lodge. Every so often he had to open it up in front and back and so kind of cooled the sweaters off. It was so opened maybe four successive times, and then the sweating was over.

"The young fellow might then be told to come in, and the old fellows would kind of clean him by first blowing on their hands and then rubbing him, and when they were through they would twiddle their fingers as one does to get rid of dirt.

"This young man hired all these people and he would think that these old men prayed hard, and that he would get what he asked for, and that he would not be afraid, and that regardless of odds he would come out on top because of this faith."

The ritual cleansing effected by sweating as well as the sacrificial aspect of the rite is definitely referred to in the foregoing account, but here as in most other cases the sacrificial aspect is the more prominent. The cleansing effect was also hinted at in Sitting High's remark quoted by Al Chandler: "You have to clean yourself through this sweating."

The sweat-bath was resorted ritually on many occasions other than those mentioned in the immediately preceding pages and passim in preceding sections. Coming Daylight spoke of it in a general way as "the thing they [the Gros Ventres] go through with when they don't want something to happen." On some of these many occasions reported by our informants there was no mention of accompanying offerings,—for instance the many sweat-baths Singer made for her sick husband (or were these purely "rational" curative measures, as may have been the sweating Coming Daylight went through for her rheumatism?). The sweat-lodge was commonly used, especially as we have seen, in connection with professional doctoring. 515 782

The sweat-bath was resorted to rather commonly—how commonly we cannot say—for pleasure, as a purely rational hygienic and curative measure, and for cleanliness. In such cases, no ceremony at all was connected with it. The keepers of the Flat and Feathered Pipes, if known to like sweating,—but not otherwise,—could be invited, but without ritual accompaniment. There was no mixed-sex sweating; men sweated with men, women with women. Sweating was a little hard on novices unused to the heat and steam. The white man who asked to learn about the Feathered Pipe was told: "The first night in a sweat-bath is pretty hard and beginners are allowed to lie down close to the ground." Singer, once when being washed by a medicine man, had to leave the lodge as soon as the water was poured on the stones; she could not stand the heat. Mary Ereaux' mother used to keep her head outside the sweat-lodge when sweating. Those, however, habituated to sweating, found the after-effect pleasant and soothing. As Al Chandler expressed it: "After you are all through sweating you sure feel good. You could go right to sleep." 515

The sweaters during the sweating whipped themselves,—"to make them even hotter" (Al Chandler), "to dry themselves" (Coming Daylight)—with formerly a whip made of a buffalo tail attached to a handle, or later of "a horse tail or any old thing." 412

The sweat-lodge for secular use was always beehived shaped, of bent willows framework, but no special number of willows was required. 343

Vows

782 Vows—here understood as promises of objects or acts made to supernatural beings—were prominent features of Gros Ventre religious life. They were distinguished in Gros Ventre thinking from promises, however serious, made to human beings. Thus, for example, a promise by a woman to make a decorated robe for her son-in-law, a quite serious promise, was specifically stated to be a promise only, not a vow.

Most of the numerous specific vows we recorded were made directly or indirectly to the Supreme Being; some, to the sacred Pipes; others, especially many of those involving physical pain,—flesh cutting, finger amputation, self-torture alone or in a Sacrifice Dance,—to the sun.

The most common occasion of vows was illness or other danger to life of one of the vower's close relatives or of the vower himself or herself. Other occasions specifically mentioned were success in a revenge expedition, achievement in battle, the return of a captured wife.

The things—object and/or acts—most frequently mentioned as vowed were: covering, opening, smoking, dancing with, making a sweat-lodge for, accepting the keepership of, or rendering other homage to the Flat or Feathered Pipe; holding one of the sacred Dances; cutting one's flesh, amputating one's finger joint, or undergoing self-torture alone or in a Sacrifice Dance; "holy boiling," or feeding a group of the poor, old men and old women; more recently, giving a 4-button handgame (a social affair with food).

Certain vows—those of a more solemn kind, such as one to hold a Sacred Dance or, in some cases at least, to undergo solitary self-torture—were announced publicly. The exact rule—if there was one—in this matter we could not determine. Apparently such announcement was regularly made when the act vowed called for the help of a ritual grandfather.

In general breach of vow brought misfortune. "The Gros Ventres," said Singer, "believe in keeping the vows they make to get a sick person well. They think that [otherwise] they have bad luck." This "bad luck" did not automatically follow breach of vow, but came as a punishment inflicted by the being to whom the vow had been made.

Singer's own guilt feeling at her delay in fulfilling her vow to amputate her finger joint is clear from her dream (infra under "Dreams"). The more recent case of the death by lightning of the young man who put off buying the Feathered Pipe cloth wrapping he had promised, as mentioned earlier (supra, p. 132), was popularly interpreted as perhaps a punishment. Another case told us by The Boy illustrated the same belief in punishment for breach of vow. 782

"Not long ago [in The Boy's lifetime] a certain man's relative was sick, and he vowed to the Supreme Being to undergo solitary self-torture out on the hills all day so the relative would recover. The relative did recover. But time went on, and the vower did not carry out his vow that summer or that year. Next summer he had a dream and in the dream someone asked him: 'When are you going to carry out your vow?' Still the vower let the matter go. He had the same dream four times and each time was asked the same question. 782 821

"After the fourth time, he began to think. He was on the spot. He decided to invite some of the principal men,—the keepers of the sacred Pipes, some ex-keepers, and some others,—among them, my father, Lame Bull. He told the assembled group about his dream. They studied it, and finally Lame Bull took it on himself to interpret it. 'I am afraid,' he said, 'This is not good that you dreamed that four times and that you waited so long to carry out your vow. This means you will not be called [warned] any more. I advise you to put up a sweat-lodge for me [Lame Bull was apparently Flat Pipe keeper at the time] and I will see what I can do for you to appease someone you have made angry. Get busy right away and cut willows and get rocks and wood for a sweat-lodge rite tomorrow. I will pray for you at the sweat-lodge rite so that you may be released and absolved from any punishment that might [otherwise] come to you.'

"The vower was glad and agreed, and glad that the invitees would help. . . . But before the sweat-lodge was put up a violent thunderstorm arose. There were abundant berries around the camp and a lot of women and children out picking them were caught in the storm. I was a little boy at the time and was along

783 821 on the berry picking. The storm spoiled the berry picking and as soon as it was over we started back to camp. The berry pickers who were in the lead on the way back stopped on a ridge in view of the camp and at once saw that something was wrong there. When they got to camp they found that the vower and his boy had been killed and his wife stunned by lightning. She was put in rain water and came to. The vower had just come back from getting the things for the sweat-lodge and was eating with his wife and boy when the storm passed over the camp.

"Another man had gone out on horseback . . . and cried all through the storm . . . after the storm had passed and the sun was shining . . . a cloud was seen to come back and stop right over the camp circle and he saw lightning and heard thunder at the same time, and he passed out, but only for a moment. When he came to, his ears were ringing and he was facing in the opposite direction. So he turned around again and looked and saw this cloud going back toward the rest of the storm [clouds]. . . .

"The people all ran to the vower and found him and his wife and boy lying there. . . . The boy's head [hair] was all curly and singed, and there was some little sage brush in his hair and they wondered how it got there. The people there always believed that the man and his boy were killed because the former did not carry out his vow. His wife is still living. This man was not given the chance to make up for his neglect. . . ."

"The man," The Boy added, "had made the vow, not to Bha'a, the storm being, but to someone else, the Supreme Being. In this case the Supreme Being employed or delegated Bha'a to mete out punishment to the man who failed to fulfill his vow."

OATHS

782 By oaths we here understand solemn appeals to the supernatural world in witness to the truth of a statement or to the binding character of a promise,—the first being assertory oaths, the second promissory ones. Whether promissory oaths were taken by the Gros Ventres is not clear. A possible instance was Good Singer's promise, after being captured and made to dance over her husband's body, of a Sacrifice Dance, the promise itself having been

preceded by her words: "As the power above and the sun sees what these people [her captors] have made me do." Assertory oaths clearly were taken, but were not common.

The Boy, with Thick concurring, stated: "Oaths were taken only in serious situations and only on rare occasions, chiefly when some one was accused publicly of some grave crime and was compelled to prove himself innocent. He would not use the expression, 'the sun sees me,' but would just point upward and say, Ixtcibni :həhat (the Supreme Being) is listening to me and is witnessing what I say, and I say that what you are saying [about me] is not true."

On another occasion The Boy explained: "The Gros Ventres did not take oaths very often but only in extreme cases. They took explicit oaths, but usually only implicit ones through pipe, or knife, or wetting the skin between the collarbones. This last could be done just in fun. A listener would wet his finger with his tongue and say: 'All right, I'll wet my finger and touch your skin, and if what you say is true and you act before your skin dries, I will believe you.'"

Al Chandler gave the following details: "An Indian is supposed to tell whatever he says like black and white. Especially if he takes an oath that he will tell the truth, he is supposed never to break that. The liars will even take that oath and then lie anyway. A person takes an oath by running the blade of a sharp knife right along next to his lips, wetting the blade and saying: 'If I lie, God will punish me (or something will happen to me),' then stabs the knife in the earth. The oath is taken when somebody does not believe a person and says to him: 'Swear that you are not lying.' Sometimes if a man takes an oath like that but is really lying, something actually happens to him: maybe he might break a leg. The punishment comes right away. This is what makes them afraid, because it [the truth] will come right out."

The women's chastity test, regarding which our informants were not fully agreed, was essentially an oath. We did not succeed in clearing up the problem, in spite of long conferences in the field on it.[12] In any case, however, considerable light is thrown on the nature of Gros Ventre assertory oaths.

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[12] Cf. Flannery, 1953, pp. 193-94.

782 837 Following is The Boy's account gotten from his father, Lame Bull, and given to us in 1939, with slight additions, in parentheses, from his quite similar account given us in 1945:

"This custom disappeared when Lame Bull was a small boy [hence, about 1832-35]. He remembered it distinctly, although he had seen it only once, in his early boyhood. The crier went around saying to everybody: 'Get ready everybody, after sunrise tomorrow morning, to see who is the woman most faithful to her husband.' The custom was carried out only once in a great while. A group of older men, not real old ones but those still active, would get together and agree that the test should be carried out.

"The very first thing the next morning, the crier went around and announced: 'This is meant for *every* married couple, old and young. Put on your best clothes. Start right away.' Then two of the biggest lodges in the camp circle were put together to make a two-lodge tent. After it was put up, the crier announced: 'Everyone come from every direction to the center-lodge.' All came, dressed up, especially the unmarried young men. (The young men before the test witnessed by Lame Bull had made it up among themselves, to get up and say publicly, 'That woman is lying,' should any woman get up and dance whom they knew to be lying about her fidelity.) (They had a brush shed at the front of the double-lodge, and the flaps of the lodge were raised so that more people could fit in and look on. The women had to sit inside. The only men inside were the singers and musicians, some standing and beating drums, others seated with their hands under the elkskin in front of them.) The singers sat in a circle with a big [534] tanned elkskin in the middle, and each singer had two human shin-bones, one in each hand, and both shin-bones were notched saw-like with a series of notches. There were several pairs of these bones. When the singing began and the drum holders beat their drums, the bone holders sawed with the bones under the elkskin. A weird noise was made by the sawing together of these bones invisible to the onlookers.

"Before the singing began, one man got up and told the women what the affair was about and the procedure in it, so that they would understand: 'The men are going to sing four times. If not a single woman gets up and dances and uncovers the human bones under the elkskin, then there is not a woman in the entire Gros Ventre tribe who is faithful to her husband. And it would even look bad if one does exist but does not get up until the fourth singing.' Then he impressed on the women's minds that getting up and uncovering the human bones under the elkskin was like taking an oath. The older women might know that the things to be uncovered were human bones, but the younger ones might not.

"After this man was through talking, some of the older women got up and encouraged the younger women: 'Surely there ought to be one in this whole group who has been faithful to her husband. Don't fear. Be proud of the fact. Get up and dance.' When the singers started to sing [the song, number 69, was sung by The Boy and recorded by us], they started off with a bang, shouting and yelling and beating the drums fast. They sang the song once and then the second time, and then began making remarks: 'We have sung twice. There are no dancers yet. Only two more times are left.'

"They sang it the third time and still there were no dancers. A lot of the old women were now walking around and pleading with the young wives: 'Don't let this pass without at least one wife getting up.' Before the last song started, several of the leading men, too, said: 'This is the last time. If no married young woman dances and uncovers the scraping here, then not one Gros Ventre woman in the entire tribe is faithful to her husband.'

"Finally from about the center of the crowd of sitting women, a young woman got up and stepped out, amid much applause, for she was perhaps the comeliest young woman in the tribe. She sort of tucked up her skirts on both sides under her belt and started to dance [illegible] the drumbeating and scraping. She danced fast, vigorously, like a man. She made four rounds, and on each of the first three made a pass with her hand toward the covered scraping. The fourth time she lifted the elkskin. The singing and the scraping with the bones stopped at once.

The young woman had to pause to catch her breath, saying: 'When I catch my breath I will tell you something.' When she had caught her breath, pointing around to all the men with a sweeping gesture she said: 'Plenty of nice young men are here but not one of them knows me [in the sense of sex relations]. The only man

782 who knows me and whom I know is my husband. But many of you have tried to [seduce me] but did not succeed. Ninä:nä'ak is 837 listening to me and he knows I am telling the truth. Sunshine gives the most light, and what I have to say has nothing hidden in it. It is as true as the light of day which sunshine gives. My husband is off on a war party and he will distinguish himself during it, and this will be another mark that I am telling the truth.'

"Then the old men and old women drowned out one another singing her praises. All thought her a wonderful woman, being alone at night and so beautiful and yet withstanding all advances. Her name was Speaks Holy, and her husband's, Sun Old Man.

"After the bones had been uncovered a dance was held, including [524] a contest between a man and a woman. A woman and a man got up and danced toward each other, each making faces at the other, pulling noses, and so forth. The one who laughed first lost and was pushed back into his or her seat. The winner remained on the floor and challenged. Another, of the opposite sex, then got up from the side of the loser and contested with the previous winner. And so the contest went on until one, a man or woman, won in four successive bouts. When this happened he or she was the winner. All the people then threw them [each successive loser?] down and covered them up with their robes. Then there was food and feasting and the affair ended.

"There was no prayer or smudging or other rite, except the oath the woman took on the spot to the Supreme Being, Ninänä'ätc. The young woman in the case had taken upon herself a serious thing. She took an oath. . . . She was glad of the opportunity to declare her fidelity. . . .

"At the end the double lodge was torn down. Early in the morning, after the third night, the war party returned. . . . Sun Old Man had counted coup, he had struck an enemy and had returned with something. So his wife must have told the truth, for nothing had been prearranged. All this added to the fury of other husbands against their wives. The women denied and said: 'We did not want to do this publicly. What that woman did in uncovering the bones was just a bid for notoriety. We can be faithful without doing that. We are humble.'

"Lame Bull said that the old men had told him that the Gros Ventres used to hold this test once in a while, but the only one he witnessed was the one described. He also said that they were going to hold this test again when he was a middle-aged man and were all ready to do so, when a war party came back, some of whose members had been killed in battle. So that spoiled the occasion. And after that, the test was never held." 782 837

DREAMS, VISIONS AND AUDITIONS

Gros Ventre for "a dream" is kana:tè; for "a vision," and apparition seen while you are awake or "even while you are sleeping and somebody comes to you," be:tänɔhatsä:nä', "something sacred I saw." In the following pages we are for clarity's sake distinguishing between dreams occurring in sleep and visions and auditions occurring in waking hours. What, if any, importance the Gros Ventres themselves attached to the distinction is not clear, although they of course were fully aware of it, as is obvious from their explicit statements in the cases recorded by us. It is quite clear, however, that such dreams, visions, and auditions played a major role in their magico-religious culture, and entered into it in numerous ways and on numerous occasions. Illustrative cases will be given presently. 787

Especially in the spring time older men, after going to bed at night, would command silence in the lodge and would sing and pray, informally without ritual observances, and would pray among other things for some good dream and for deep sleep[13] so that they would not wake up before the dream was over.

Dreams in which power was offered or imparted were supposed to be kept more or less secret. Such secrecy was not, however, called for, it seems, regarding other dreams.

Dreams as recorded by us fall into two categories, those in which gifts or messages were imparted to the dreamer by some being, and those in which interpretation of the meaning of the dreams

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[13] The Arapaho, we were told, call this kind of sleep "thick sleep." In 1948 Tom Main said that the literal translation of the Gros Ventre word for "deep sleep" is actually "thick sleep." [R.F.]

787 had to be made by the dreamer. We shall take up these two categories in turn.

In the first category fall power-bestowing dreams and many of those connected with name-giving and ear-piercing. Power was usually bestowed during a dream, in some cases however while the recipient was awake. In other dreams, songs, information, instructions, warnings, invitations, commands or permissions were given by supernatural beings.

Two wordless songs, numbers 33 and 34, sung without accompaniment of drum or rattle, and gotten by The Boy's father, Lame Bull, in dreams were recorded by us as sung by The Boy. Lame Bull had many songs of this kind, but these were the two he used to sing most frequently. In the records the song is repeated only once; in the full rendering it would be sung four times. These are bedtime songs.

It was in a dream that Lame Bull was told the war party he led would kill five of the enemy and that he saw just where the enemy were located. In another dream he was told that he had forfeited and would lose his doctoring power (supra, pp. 284-285). As the result of a dream the grandmother of Mary Ereaux made a special kind of bag, snake-shaped, in which to keep the navel cord of the latter's son.

Singer on one occasion, when her daughter was ill and she [Singer] had promised to amputate the end joint of her little finger as a sacrifice to save the girl, had a significant dream.

"I had promised," Singer said, "to do this but my husband, Iron Bucket, had kept putting it off. 'Leave it for a while,' he would say. So one night I had a dream. So I woke my husband and told him immediately: 'Now look. I saw this old man coming and he said: "You promised me that finger a long time ago. You are going to look like this," and I saw a person with white hair painted red (a sign of old age, she explained to us). This old man got after me and told me what I would look like, if I didn't keep my promise.' So we got kind of scared. . . . The old man was representing the sun because it was to the sun that I had made the promise."

In quite recent years, shortly before her death, Thick's wife, The

Boy's sister, could hear the Flat Pipe. "It bothered her to think it was alone [and relatively neglected] and in her sleep it would call her."

During our earlier contacts with The Boy, 1938 to 1940, he was considerably concerned as to whether he "was doing right in telling about the Flat Pipe to the white man" and he "thought hard" on the matter. In the summer of 1939, after receiving a letter from one of us, regarding the Flat Pipe, he had a dream.

"I saw," he said, "a big crowd of people gathered. I stood by a lodge where the crowd was. I went into the lodge and saw there my father and old Curly Head. I sat facing them. My father said: 'Are you telling the history of these Pipes to the white man?' I said: 'Yes.' I waited for further questions from my father, but then I woke up."

The above version of this dream was given us in the summer of 1939. A fuller one was given, as follows, in August, 1940.

"I came from about a southerly point to a big crowd out in the open. On arrival I at once pushed people out of the way and elbowed my way into the heart of the crowd. I wanted to know what was going on there. The crowd was not in a circle but in a sort of oval. When I got inside the crowd—I saw my father, Lame Bull [d. 1908], and Curly Head [d. 1937] sitting together in the place of honor [opposite the lodge door]. Lame Bull was sitting to the right of Curly Head. So I walked up to them and sat down facing them. Lame Bull said to me: 'Is it true that you are telling the story of the Pipes to white men?' 'Yes,' I said 'That's true. I am doing so now.' I felt a terrible silence there and got scared. I felt that Lame Bull would scold me. Before any further word was spoken, I woke up, and then tried to interpret the dream. Other dreams did not impress me as much as this one. I thought much, and wondered if it was proper to tell the story of the Pipe, if it was against the dignity of the Pipe and reverence for the Pipes, if it was against Gros Ventre principles."

"In the old days," said Coming Daylight, "we used to paint ourselves every morning [a custom of which now little remains]. . . . I painted myself when I was going to pray to the Flat Pipe for my grandchild, and when I went to sleep that night I dreamed

787 I saw that paint and a voice told me: 'Why don't you pay any attention to me any more?' So that is why I have started painting again. I used always to paint and would like to do so now, but I am afraid my children might be ashamed of me."

In some dreams, a being communicated to the dreamer commands, summonses, requests, invitations, or permissions. Coming Daylight's husband, Little Man, when someone had put medicine on him and he was having hemorrhages, was told in a dream that if he would torture himself he would get well. He was also told what kind of root or leaf to drink for the hemorrhages at the time he tortured himself, and exactly where it was to be found. Coming Daylight went for it and found it. Then he took it and got well. At this time, too, "he got the name," she said, "for our little boy, Skinner.[14] He used never to believe in such things and here this came to him like that. When he told me about the names for our little boy, I threw this up at him and said: 'I thought you never believed in such things!' But he just laughed, and I told him: 'That is just the way you know things. You ought to start now and practice things for the children's sake.'"

Lame Bull, it may be recalled, was called in dreams by the being who lived on Baldy Butte in the Bear Paws, to go up there and quest for power.

One of The Boy's dreams, experienced in the winter of 1939-40, straddles our two dream categories. It contained an invitation; it also called for interpretation.

"I had a dream," The Boy said. "In it a person came to me wrapped up in a white man's blanket. The blanket covered even his face and extended way up over his head and the top of the blanket was blowing round as if by the wind, and was all covered with snow as if the wearer had come in out of a snowstorm. He came in and stood by my bed, and said: 'Well, I have been sent here to come and get you, because where you are living now everything is bad and out of order. You are not enjoying your life here. Where I came from is a good place.' I recognized this person as John Baptist, my deceased nephew, the son of my sister, Mrs. Thick. John Baptist scolded me, but I said: 'No. I don't

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[14] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 146.

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want to go where you want me to go. I still have small children to look after. I still have business here. I have not finished giving [to Flannery and Cooper] the record of Gros Ventre life. There are many other things to tell [them]. What is the matter with you? You are shivering and cold. It is warm in here. It is not proper for a ghost to be cold.' John Baptist said: 'It is very cold. That is why I am covered up and shivering.' At this he uncovered his head. But I knew all along who it was. I recognized his voice. He looked just the same as when he was living. Then I woke up.

"The third night after this I took sick. I woke up at night with pains around my nipples as if there were two sticks there and as if the veins under my lower jaw were big. I got up and rubbed my face and neck and the back of my head. I was in great pain. I did not want to disturb anybody. I lay down and slept. When I woke up my face was twisted [facial paralysis].

"I thought a lot about the dream I have just told you. I nearly concluded that it might mean my time to die would come in the winter season. I am not afraid. I am resigned. If I live through next winter, I feel I will go past the crisis and live longer."

Dreams were often interpreted as having prophetic or other meaning. Singer, on one occasion, dreamed, she said, that "we were all traveling and that my little brother fell off the travois and got killed. I was screaming in my dream: 'Oh, my brother! Oh, my brother!' My mother woke me up and asked me: 'What is the matter?' I said: 'Oh, I was just scared in my dream about my little brother.' My mother was worried for fear this was a bad sign. The next morning when we moved camp that is where someone we knew got killed by the raiding enemy."

Certain other dreams were variously interpreted. On one occasion when Coming Daylight and her young grandson went with Snake Woman to gather bitterroot, a fellow driving a cow waved to them. The next morning Snake Woman said: "I dreamed I was married to that fellow who waved at me." And actually he did try later to live with her.

Singer gave the following account:

"I and Axe Handle, my Assiniboine husband, once went swimming down the Milk River Valley. After we got home and went to bed I dreamed that a little short man with shaggy hair all pushed back came out of the water where we had been bathing. He made a motion as if to grab me and said: 'I am going to take you.' He was grabbing at me to take me into the water and I was just hollering in my dream and calling my husband by name. He wakened me and asked: 'What is the matter?' I replied: 'This little man is trying to take me.' So in the morning my husband said: 'I am going to put some offerings in the water.' I had a nice silk handkerchief and a pair of 'pearl' earrings. So we sewed the earrings in the handkerchief and then we went and prayed and prayed, and my husband said: 'We give you these so you won't take her.' We held on to the offering until the praying was finished and then put it in the water, and it disappeared quick, as if somebody had grabbed it."

Once when Axe Handle, Singer's husband, was ill and was expecting to die, "he saw someone," she told us, "in his sleep, come down from the sky and walk in, holding in his palm four little red objects. He held his hand before Axe Handle and said, 'Here. Eat this up.' And Axe Handle took them like pills." After this Axe Handle recovered.

Waking visions and auditions were common, not however too common, it seems, as meaningful dreams. Sometimes as we have seen, power was bestowed on the recipient when awake, although more frequently in a dream.

"Once," said Coming Daylight, "we were camped along the Milk River where the woods stops Everybody in those days used to get up early, when the sun was just peeping above the horizon. So one morning my grandmother went for water, very early, just before dawn. She looked up and down the river. She saw something right down in the water. She looked more closely. It was a buffalo fawn, the small yellow-brown kind. It stood in the middle of the water. This was a vision (be:tānɔhatsa'). She started to pray to this fawn and while she prayed the fawn looked at her. She prayed and prayed that the fawn would have pity on her. And then the fawn looked at her. She wasn't mourning or anything at that time. She was just going about her ordinary routine. It was good when anyone had a vision like that. My grandmother told this vision to those in her lodge but she did not tell everybody

You were not supposed to tell everybody. I think that the vision is what made my grandmother live so long [to the age of 101 years it is claimed]. I think the fawn gave her 'grace' to live that long." 787

We recorded two instances of mass vision. One, of white horses coming down through an opening in the mountains, has been previously described. The other was related by Singer.

"The Gros Ventres were traveling and they got to a place where there is a mountain on both sides. They were going to look for buffalo. The men went out and then heard a man hollering for all the others. They all looked and saw a herd of buffalo coming from the sky. Iron Bucket [Singer's husband] was one of that party. The herd dropped close by. When people see anything like that they say it is a holy thing. The men chased these buffalo and killed one. It was bigger and fatter than the real kind and that is how they knew. They talked about this a whole lot. They had not prayed for this. It just happened. The man who first saw these buffalo gave a war whoop and then yelled: 'Come see!' The others all looked and here the buffalo were. When the buffalo landed, the earth shook and the dust just came up."

Auditions occurred, as well as visions. The woman's voice heard in the sweat-lodge rite and during White Weasel's singing has been mentioned previously (supra, p. 97). In the latter case, Mary Ereaux' mother and an occasional other person could hear the woman's voice, but others, such as Mary herself and White Weasel's wife, could not.

"The Gros Ventres," according to Singer, "used to come across a big lake toward the southwest. It was a holy lake because in its deep waters they used to hear sounds of dogs barking, and horses neighing, and young men giving a whoop, and drums beating, like they were singing. The people used even to see visions in this lake. Since the whites came around the Gros Ventres do not know what has become of this lake." [823]

OMENS AND DIVINATION

Through both omens and divination, knowledge of the future or of hidden or distant things is believed to be gotten, and both

787 have at least some touch of the "supernatural" about them. In the senses in which we are here using the terms, omens are more or less conventional interpretations of casual events, of happenings that occur independently of activity, or effective initiative, on the part of the interpreter; divination, an interpretation of means specifically resorted to and set up by the interpreter.

The line between omen and divination cannot always be sharply drawn, nor can it always be sharply drawn from the Gros Ventre point of view between natural and "supernatural" interpretation of casual events or of set up means. We shall deal first with omens, and after that with divination.

Some portents of the future are quite clearly of the purely natural order in Gros Ventre thought. Examples of such natural Gros Ventre portents are weather signs like the following. The aurora borealis is a sign of impending bad weather or storm; if it occurs a given night, on the second night after there will be a change of weather. A lot of rain, in summer, or a lot of service-berries, choke-cherries and so forth, means much snow the following winter. If the blackbirds, crows, and other birds leave early, cold weather may be expected early in the fall. Whether the winter would be severe or mild, could be told from the condition of animals' fur in the fall. Old fellows, in the olden days, are said to have been able to foretell the day when a storm or the Chinook wind would arrive.

Whether the following are conceived as of the natural or supernatural order is doubtful. A big shooting star portends sickness to come; of a little one, nothing is thought. When Singer was a little girl she had one or two grey hairs; her grandmother wanted to pull them out and told her they were a sign she was going to live to old age.

The following seem more suggestive of the supernatural, so far as we would judge the native attitude. If you hear someone saying your name, especially if there be added the call, "Come on!" and you look around and see nobody, this is a sign of your death. "If a dog comes and whines around and kind of cries, or if it raises its hind leg and urinates on a lodge, clothing or a person, this is unlucky." "If a family dog whines around the door and

787 howls at the moon, someone is going to die; the dog will be killed to head off the misfortune." It is also unlucky if a dog and a coyote "kind of quarrel, the one howling frequently and the other answering back." Hoot owls were thought to be ghosts (supra, p. 27). If an owl alighted on the tent or house, or hooted nearby on a bush, this portended the death of someone. If one or more crows flew across one's path and cawed when one was going out hunting, this meant good luck.

Of the supernatural order were also many of the intimations imparted in dreams, and many gotten in connection with the sacred Pipes, such as those from the quivering of the pipe bundle, the look of the human face in the Feathered Pipe bundle, and so forth.

787 821 An eclipse of the sun was an omen of some coming sickness, some epidemic like smallpox. Coming Daylight stated that her old grandmother "always noticed that an eclipse [of the sun] was followed by smallpox." Coming Daylight described her own personal reaction during an eclipse.

"I had been sent after water. . . . All of a sudden it got dark. The first thing I did was to grab on to a bunch of willows. I did not know what had happened and just kept hidden there. It was so dark I could not see to go anywhere. I heard people hollering: 'Come this way. Where are you?' But I was so frightened I just hung on to the willows as though someone were going to take me away. Finally it got to be lighter, and I took the water home."

Singer's account of her experience during an eclipse [the same one?] gives some details also on tribal belief and practice. She and another young woman were the only ones at home.

"We noticed it was getting darker and darker, although it was in the afternoon about this time of the year [mid-August]. We began to scream and cry and we did not know what was going to happen. It was really an eclipse of the sun. The men, and everyone left in camp at the time, just lay down on the ground. Finally they got up and said: 'That is a sign we are going to have smallpox.' Everybody who had a gun just shot at the sun. The reason for shooting was that it [the eclipse] was going to bring some kind of disease. They thought it was a warning." Coming Daylight here explained: "When they shoot they are trying to scare it to get rid of the sickness."

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At a number of spots in and around the territory of the Gros Ventre are cliffs on which the pictograph beings (supra, p. 20) made designs that could be interpreted as omens. The Boy enumerated the following localities where such picture cliffs were or are: one near Clagett on the Missouri River; another around Sun River; another southeast of the Sweet Grass Hills; another far up north in the forested country; another around the mouth of the Musselshell River; another north of the Musselshell; another north of the Yellowstone (north of where the Crow now are). Singer also mentioned one not far from Hays. Unfortunately our time schedule did not permit us to visit any of these spots.

The Gros Ventres explicitly distinguished these drawings from those recognized as made by Indians and from other somewhat similar things. Some such designs made by Indians in caves and on cliffs can be seen today: two, for example, in the Little Rockies, one on the south side and another on the southeast. Tracks of animals, "right in the stone," may also be seen: at one place on top of one end of Snake Butte, some miles east of St. Paul's Mission. The Gros Ventres do not know what these are.

Likewise, at one end of the Larb Hills, there is a big flat rock described as about 5 feet by 10, the upper surface of which is about waist high from the ground. The rock itself is not limestone, sandstone, or granite, but of a rarer mineral seen only once in a great while; of light color, and looking something like cement, and looking to be "artificial." It was discovered by the Gros Ventres only in recent times, apparently from the Assiniboine, who found it on directions given them by some Cree half-breeds. On the surface of this flat rock are seen tracks in the stone of a child, of hoofed animals, wolves and dogs, and of animals the Gros Ventres cannot identify. On one of the vertical sides of the rock is a dent, shaped like a lodge. The lodge is painted in colors, and in front of it, at the door side, is the figure of a man standing with a pipe extended upward. Some young Gros Ventre men have spit on their hands and tried to rub these lodge colors off, but without success. On the opposite vertical side of the flat rock are represented the sun and moon, the Dipper, and some other stars. The present-day Gros Ventres have tried to divine the meaning

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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of this rock with its designs, but to no avail. They just say of it "it is something holy." They do not know what if anything the pictograph beings may have had to do with it. 787 172

Before the death by lightning of a certain young man, a drawing was seen, on a pictograph being cliff, of a lodge, and inside a headless man, and a zigzag line to the top of the lodge. In another case some Gros Ventre hunters, recently, when out hunting, were wondering if the pictograph beings still predicted, and so they went to one of their cliffs and there saw so depicted a train, and in front of it a headless man. On their return after their hunting was over, they went to the Agency and there heard that a certain man had been killed by a train. Just in recent times, too, a Gros Ventre band was traveling (not as a war party) to the Crow reservation and being near the pictograph beings cliff at the mouth of the Musselshell, went and looked, and there saw pictured a water monster with long horns and a human being riding on its neck. (One on its head and another on its snout, according to Singer.) They interpreted this to mean: "Someone is going to be drowned." When they reached the Crow, they learned that a Gros Ventre young man had drowned crossing the Yellowstone somewhere near Billings, and the place where the river comes out of the mountains. Singer once saw on one of these cliffs a picture of their camp, with a gun pointing right at the middle of the camp; afterwards a person in the camp did actually get killed.

In general, if someone died from war or drowning or other cause, and a group were discussing the death, it would be said: "The pictograph beings drew and predicted this long ago."

There was relatively little divination among the Gros Ventres as compared with the many kinds of it among their Algonquian linguistic kin of the taiga. Scapulimancy was absent; none of a half-dozen or more of our informants to whom we broached the subject had ever heard of it. Scrying occurred in the form of peering into badger blood. When a war party had gone out on the trail, they would kill a badger, lay it on its back, slit it from throat to crotch, and leave the blood to gather in a pool around the belly. Those of the party who wished to peer into the pool of blood did so: but there was no obligation to do so; if some did not wish 787

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787 to do so they did not do it. They peered one by one. If the scryer, on peering into the surface of the blood, saw himself headless or scalped, this meant he would get killed, and he would not go on the expedition but would turn back and go home. If he saw himself reflected clearly, this meant good luck. "Usually," said Thomas Main, "the scryers did not tell what they saw." "It was claimed," Charles Buckman remarked, "that the skeptic [one who saw himself scalped or headless, but nevertheless continued on the expedition] actually got killed."

Bear heart divination was described by The Boy, Charles Buckman, and Coming Daylight as a well-known practice.[18] Apparently badger blood divination was taken much more gravely and seriously by the Gros Ventres than bear heart divination.

A final type of divination is from Coming Daylight. The grandson of her old grandmother with whom, as a girl, she and her sister were living, killed a female porcupine in which were two embryos. "The old woman said to us two girls: 'Come here both of you.' So she held my dress open at the neck and loosened my belt, and threw the foetus down the neck of my dress. It went through without stopping, and my grandmother said: 'When you have children you will have an easy time. See how quick it went through.' Then she did the same to my sister, but in some way the foetus got caught, and the old woman said: 'Now, you see. You are going to have a hard time. You are going to have slow childbirth.' And sure enough, these are the ways it turned out for us [respectively]."

THINGS TO DO AND TO AVOID DOING

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789 Under this somewhat loose caption we are grouping certain acts done in order to bring about desirable effect or avoided lest undesirable ones follow. How far they were in Gross Ventre thought considered "supernatural" it is hard to say. Most of these observances and avoidances were seemingly viewed as of the non-sacred work-a-day order. At least, in most of them there appears to have been no explicit or even implicit appeal to a supernatural being or resort to supernatural power. The few in which a suggestion of

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[18] Cf. Flannery, 1953, p. 163.

supernatural power is present would, in so far, be positive 784
"magical" practices, or else negative ones, "taboo" proper. The 789
great number of such observances and avoidances, treated elsewhere—are here omitted or else touched upon only summarily. We shall list first acts done, and after that acts avoided.

To bring cold or a cold wind in winter time, a bull-roarer was [534]
whirled, or a buzzer, made of a dew claw with two holes in it, on a string, was revolved. Children were not allowed to use the buzzer. Plucking a bird to bring a north wind was not known to informants.

As soon as the first thunder of spring is heard, blow on any warts you have and they will come off.

The Gros Ventres, when aware someone was trying to bewitch or poison them or when they were going to visit another tribe, especially the Cree, would rub themselves with sweet pine needles and these would make them proof against witchcraft, poison, or other harm.

The shoulder-blade of an unborn buffalo-calf was hung up "so that buffalo would continue to exist."

Many acts were to be avoided lest undesirable consequences should follow.

If you touch a mole, a rash like poison ivy will result. The wide- [797]
spread belief among northeastern Algonquians that seeing a dead mole brings bad luck is however, lacking. If you touch a toad, you will get warts [European influence?] If a spider is killed, rain comes.

Do not eat the meat of the rare albino buffalo, else your hair will turn white. Children should not eat buffalo testicle, raw or cooked, lest they wet the bed; infants not yet able to talk should not eat puppy meat, lest they be a long time learning to talk. Young women of childbearing age should not eat the two strips of flesh, called the "twins," running along the backbone [tenderloins], lest they have twins, nor the colon of buffalo, for the same reason.

Horses should never be abused: such was the caution given to the founder of the Drum Dance by the drum men leader when the latter presented him with the stallion and other horses.

784 789 [834] Sex abstinence was generally observed before hunting, and particularly before and all during golden eagle trapping. Eagle trappers "had to have a special religious character, to observe certain food taboos, and a special way of handling [being handed?] a pipe." The leader of a war party, but not other members thereof, also observed sex abstinence.

Do not break leg bones or ribs to extract the marrow or for other purpose, inside the lodge or house; go outside to do it, else you will get sore legs, or your horses may break their legs. Cora Chandler stated in 1940 that she still observed this latter, as her folks had always made her do. If an embryo calf were to be taken out of the belly of a buffalo, the embryo's eyes had to be extracted before it was brought into the lodge to be cooked; if the eyes were taken out inside the lodge, a member of the family would go blind, —"and this has been proven." Likewise it was forbidden to butcher and extract the brains from a buffalo head inside a lodge, and also break off the "soft end" of roast buffalo ribs. "Never use a knife to fuss with ashes or coals because you might cut yourself if you did so."

After blood-letting, the subject abstained from eating anything fried so the cut would not turn blue.

[551] There does not seem to have been any prohibition against mentioning the name of a deceased relative or other person.

777 801 Coming Daylight and Mary Ereaux had never heard of lucky or unlucky numbers. The Boy, however, stated: "According to the old law, the people were forbidden to use seven. For instance, a war party was not to have seven members, but either more or fewer. Cases are known in which young fellows disobeyed this rule and ran into trouble. In one case of this kind six of the party got killed and only one escaped with his life."

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PLATES

123 All of the photographs making up these plates were taken in the vicinity of Hays, on the Fort Belknap Reservation, Montana.

The pictures of the Flat Pipe ceremony were taken in 1948, Plates 1A and 1B, by Mr. Duke Wellington, Plates 1C and 2A, by Regina Flannery.

Dr. Otto Nitz took in 1951 the pictures of the Feathered Pipe ceremony on Plates 2B, 2C, and the four on Plate 3.

The Boy gave to Dr. Cooper the picture taken in the early 1900's of the painted lodge shown as Plate 4A. The other two lodges shown on Plate 4 were photographed by Dr. Karl Herzfeld in 1940.

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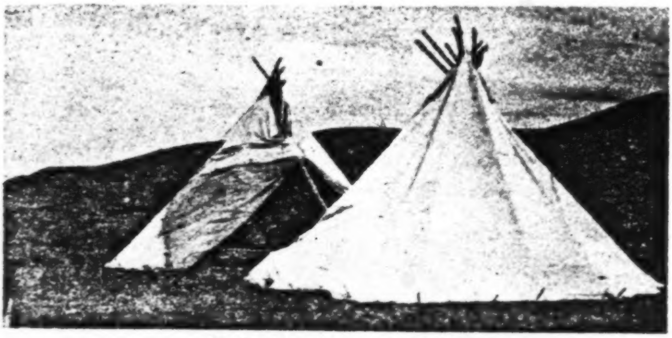

A. *Double tipi for ceremony.*

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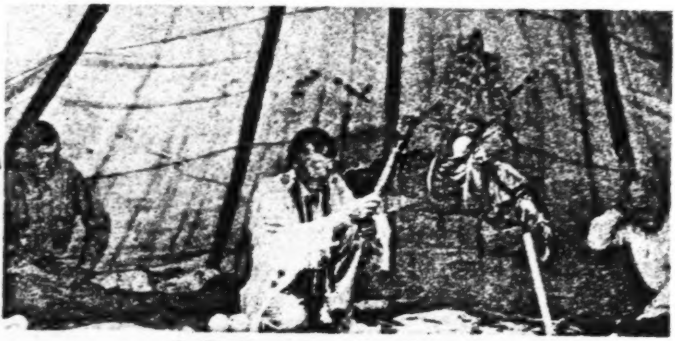

B. *The Boy prays with ordinary pipe.*

[516
[534]
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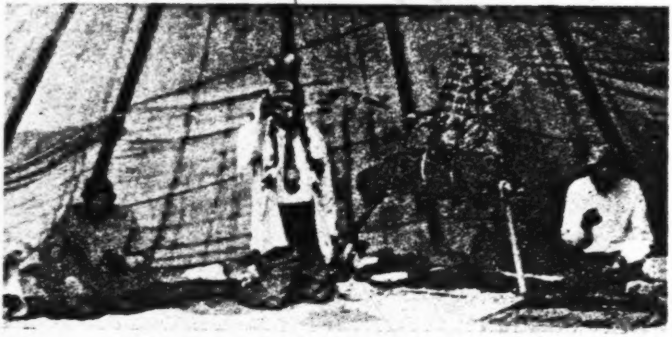

C. *The Boy smudges rattles over Flat Pipe hearth.*

PLATE 1

[p.425]

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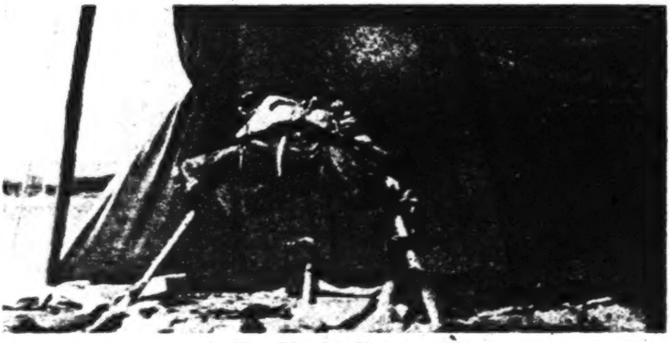
[401]



A. *Flat Pipe bundle on tripod.*

B. *Setting at opening of Feathered Pipe ceremonial.*

C. *Drum hung on tripod.*

PLATE 2

[p. 426]

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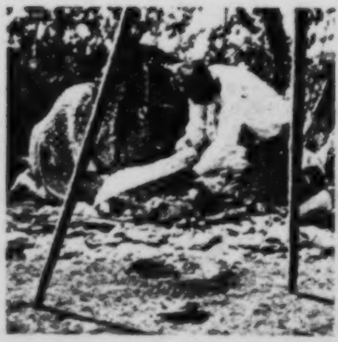
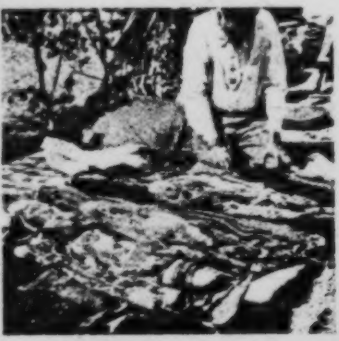
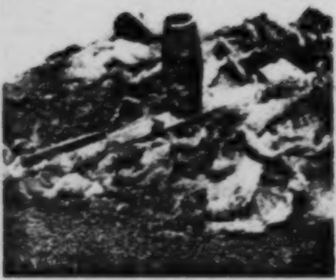


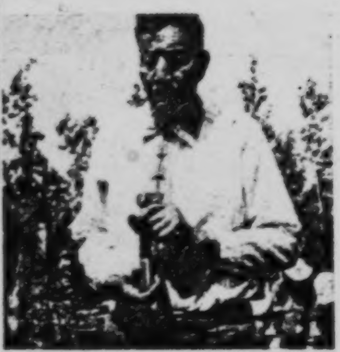
A. *Unwrapping Feathered Pipe bundle at hearth.*



B. *Contents of bundle.*



C. *One of the pipes in the bundle.*



D. *Iron Man II holding a pipe from bundle.*

PLATE 3

[p.427]

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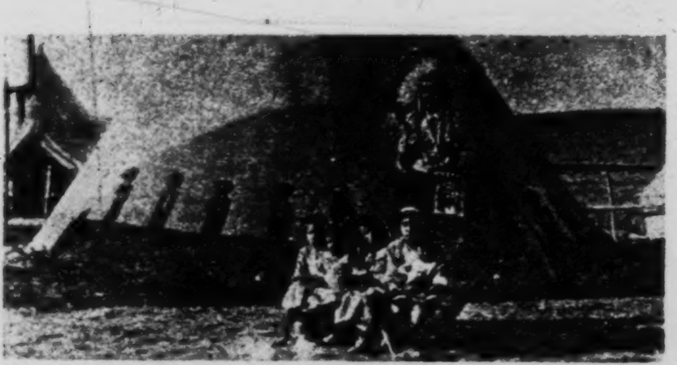
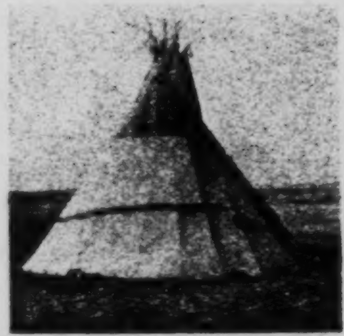
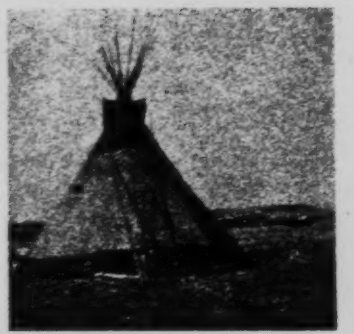


A. *Sacred painted lodge.*



B. *Sacred lodge of Iron Man I.*



C. *Another painted lodge.*

PLATE 4

[p. 428]

APPENDIX

The following myths, tales, and traditions are given as told us mostly by The Boy, who in turn learned them in large part from his father. Variants from other informants are noted in passing and reference is made to Kroeber's earlier and more complete collection where appropriate. 128

1. Ni:hɔhat Liberates the Bladder People[1]

White Man started out and wandered around. At last he saw a single lodge and went over to it and entered. A man and woman were sitting there. They welcomed White Man and told him to sit down. Right away White Man thought: "I am tired and hungry. But they have nothing to eat." He wondered what to do next. The man said to the woman: "My friend has caught me unawares. He is hungry and tired and I have no food to give him." So the man called out: "My children, go and hunt so that we may eat and our guest may eat." This was good news to White Man. So he waited. It was now night. During the night something was bringing meat. You could hear something laying down meat outside. White Man thought this queer that meat should be brought at night instead of in the day time, but he just waited. After a while something stopped bringing these things to eat. The man then said to the woman: "Go out and fetch these things to eat so we and our guest can eat." So she went out and brought in all sorts of meat. So they ate liver, kidneys, tripe, and manifolds, eating them raw. There was plenty to eat so they ate and ate until they were full. 539 773

White Man began to wonder how all this was done. He had it on the tip of his tongue to ask but he didn't do so as this would have been impolite. So after a while he was so full that he fell asleep.

White Man woke up the next day and spent the day with the couple. When night came the man gave the same order in a loud voice: "My children, go and hunt and bring things to eat so that our guest may eat." Then this second night the same thing happened as on the night before.

This time White Man, after he had eaten until he was filled, made up his mind to ask the man how it was all done: "How do they get these good things to eat? Who are your children? I haven't seen any of them." The man replied: "Do you really want to know?" White Man answered: "Yes." The man said to him: "All right. Come with me to this rising ground here. I will show you." As they left the man's lodge he said: "Look up and you

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[1] For explanation of the term "White Man" as used for the trickster, see p. 2. This story does not appear in Kroeber's collection.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

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will see the thing I use." White Man looked up and saw a bladder[a] up above the door. The man said: "That is what I use." White Man said: "I see it."

The man took the bag from where it hung and he and White Man went to the rising ground. When they reached there the man said: "What I use to hunt with and make a living with and do all things with is in this bag. You will see. Make your heart strong." So the man untied the bag. As he did so adult people began to come out of the bag. The crowd got bigger and bigger around them. The man then said: "This is enough." So he closed the opening of the bag and tied it up again.

After he had tied it up the man said to White Man: "Here are the people I use when I want to do anything. They are the ones who hunt." The man said to the people: "Go hunt and bring the choicest things to eat to my lodge. Myself and my guest want to eat some more."

So the man and White Man went back to the lodge and stayed there all day. That night the same thing happened that had happened on the first and second night previously. They ate and ate until they had enough and were filled and then they slept.

The next day White Man moved on and went his way. Then White Man began to study and think how he could acquire from the man the man's way of living and of getting a living. So White Man studied how to get the man to let him have this bladder. So he hit upon a plan. He decided to cut himself, as the Indians do in mourning, and to cry. So he cut himself and came crying loud to the man's lodge. When he got to the lodge he walked around it crying and crying. The man and woman heard White Man but they knew that White Man was a tricky fellow and they paid no attention to him. But White Man just kept on crying. They heard White Man crying until they went to sleep.

When they woke up the next morning the man wondered what had become of White Man. He said to the woman: "Go out and see if White Man is around." She went and there was White Man asleep outside. The man woke White Man up and invited him into the lodge. White Man went in and sat down, and in the course of time the man said to him: "What do you want? Why have you cut yourself and made yourself suffer and cried?" White Man said: "I did so for a very serious reason. My enemies have killed my whole family, my wife and children, and have destroyed my home. I am destitute and do not know how I am going to live. So I thought I would come to you and ask you to share the bladder with me and tell me how to use it, so I may make ready to take revenge on the people who destroyed my family and home." The man, knowing White Man to be what he was, refused at once: "No. You will go to extremes. You will abuse it. You are crazy." White Man begged all the more. The man and woman were silent for a long time. But White Man kept talking and talked so

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[a] A gall bladder sack, attached to the liver. Such gall bladders were used by the Gros Ventres to store grease prepared and mixed with berries and were kept closed to keep bugs out.

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much and so piteously that the man and woman were moved. The woman said to the man: "You ought to pity him. He has suffered a lot. I think he is serious and not up to his tricks this time." So the man said to her: "All right." Then he said to White Man; "Do not use the bladder and the people in it except on rare occasions, such as taking revenge on the enemies who killed your family, or as hunting when in need of food." White Man said: "I promise." White Man embraced the man and was glad. Now White Man had the bladder with instructions how to use it. The man just loaned the bladder to White Man. The man said to him: "There is one very strict rule to be followed by the person who has the bladder. You must sleep with your head toward the place to which you are going. You must observe this rule strictly to the letter." White Man said: "I shall." The man said to him again: "Remember to use the bladder only when you have to."

So White Man went off. And when night came he stopped. He was wondering if the whole thing would work. He couldn't stand it any longer so he said: "My children, go, I am hungry and want to eat." So they went and brought all kinds of meat. So he ate and ate, and then slept. When he woke up there was nothing there, no meat but only the bladder. So White Man picked up the bladder and went away again. He did in like manner each night, and each time the plan was successful and there was always something to eat.

White Man told his people what they should do in case he got killed: "Make a sweat house and a mound of earth in front of it. Someone should have a filled pipe and should stand at the mound of earth and should invite the Supreme Being four separate times with a stop after each invitation. Then a second invitation should be given, this time to 'You that follow one another' [Sun and Moon], and this invitation too should be given four separate times. Then you should give an invitation, likewise four separate times, to the 'Four holy old men.' Next you should give an invitation, also four separate times to 'You that starve to death.' Then you should give one invitation only to all of those who are to take part in the sweat, naming each one and saying: 'Come and join the sweat.'" White Man was here telling the people what to do if he should lose his life. They were to do this four days after White Man's death and then quit and wait and White Man would appear and come to join them.

White Man traveled four nights and slept four times after leaving the man's lodge with the bladder. On the morning after the fourth night there appeared signs of a habitation. And White Man said to his followers: "Stay right here." White Man went slyly to a little hill and peeked and peeked and saw a big camp with lots and lots of people. So absorbed was he in the sight that he did not notice some hunters coming in between him and his people. The hunters sneaked up and killed White Man. White Man had with him at the time the bladder. The hunters captured the bladder and brought it to camp and wondered what it was and why White Man carried

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it. It was still tied up. Out of curiosity they untied it and at once people began to come out of the bladder. So they lost control of the bladder, were overrun with these bladder people, were hopelessly outnumbered, and were destroyed and killed by them.

The bladder people were now without a leader but they remembered what White Man had told them to do if he were killed. So they built a sweat house and made a mound of earth in front of it and all who were going to sweat assembled there. One of them then took a pipe and filled it and stood at the mound and did just what White Man had told them to do. In a loud voice he invited the Supreme Being to come and sweat with them and did this four times. At once after the fourth invitation someone appeared in the direction the inviter was facing and walked toward them. The inviter went on to the next invitation as White Man had instructed. Meanwhile this person kept approaching. By the time the inviter had finished all the invitations, this person arrived where the people were. It was White Man. He said to them: "My children, I came back. I am going to sweat with you." Then they all went into the sweat house except the man with the pipe who remained standing where he was. After all, including White Man, were seated inside the sweat-lodge where they were going to sweat, White Man said to the man standing outside at the mound with the pipe: "Come in. Hand me the pipe." He handed the pipe to White Man who received it and said to him, "Go and get that [dry] buffalo chip out of the fire and put it down in front of me." The man did so. White Man took dry peppermint leaves and put them down on the chip and made incense and passed the as yet unlit pipe around and up and down in the smoke three times.

White Man in receiving the pipe grasped it with his left hand around the pipe stem just next to the bowl and his right hand around the pipe stem further toward the mouth. At first he held the pipe, bowl up and level, towards the smoke of the incense, then he raised the stem end of the pipe upwards until the pipe was nearly vertical and held it toward the rising sun, next toward due south, and finally towards the setting sun. Finally he reversed the stem towards his mouth. After this White Man said to the people: "Now you are free. You won't have to go back in the bladder again."

White Man while still holding the pipe prayed to the Supreme Being to bless his liberation of the people. After he had finished praying he told his people to do all the things which he himself had done since he had been with them. He told them to stand at the mound and put a buffalo skull on top of the mound in such wise that the forehead of the skull would rest level. He told them to have the children come around and to get some good old man to cut off a little of the flesh of the children's arms and to offer it to the Supreme Being by putting it on top of the skull. He told the older people to cut bits of flesh in the shape of the new moon from off their arms from between shoulder and elbow, from between elbow and wrist, from off their thighs to the knee and from off their legs between the knee and the ankle and from off their chest (sternum),—to cut off as much as they could stand and not to fail to do this, and to put the cut-off bits on top of the buffalo skull. [Thick showed the writer the crescent-shaped scars on the outer side of his upper arm.] 539 773

Inside the sweat house White Man instructed them too in all the details of how to make the sweat house and the mound and how to heat the rocks and how to place the pipe on the mound.

White Man sat just inside the east entrance of the sweat house on the left as you enter. He had two assistants who remained outside. He told one of them to take two sticks tied together and get a live coal with them. With this coal he lit the pipe. Then all the people sitting in the sweat-lodge smoked. When all were through smoking White Man handed the pipe to one of his assistants who put it on the mound. Then he told the two assistants to close the doors of the sweat-lodge and one of them closed the front eastern opening and the other closed the rear western opening. Then White Man sang a song. Some of the people learned this song right away and sang it with White Man. Some of the people prayed while White Man and the others were singing. Then they heard a woman's voice, a very beautiful voice singing the same song that they were singing. Two songs had words that are translated as follows:[8]

First song: "My holiness have pity on me." (White Man was here really speaking to himself. He had great power to do things.)

Second song: "Something long (string, rope) have pity on me."

By this time the openings of the sweat-lodge had been closed and the water was ready. Each of these first two songs were sung three times. After this the third song was sung, a song without words. Then the water was stirred up and the people imitated the sound of the helldiver. Each time they got through singing the third song water was sprinkled on the rocks. The third song was sung three times and water was sprinkled on the rocks three times.

Ever since that time the Indians have done in just this way.

After White Man had told the people all about the pipe and how to use it, all at once the real Flat Pipe appeared. It was a pipe made all of wood in one piece bowl and all, with no detachable stem. This pipe was the main thing with the people after that.

Its real name is the Flat Pipe. The name Little Turtle is also used for it. The Pipe that is now kept is the same one that was given to the people by White Man.

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[8] These songs were recorded as No. 35 and No. 43. For the latter see also story No. 5.

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The same Flat Pipe survived with the one man who survived the Deluge (see No. 3).

2. Ni:hahat Obtains the Buffalo[4]

At one time a certain man owned all the buffalo. At this time White Man was living and used to wander around. In his wanderings he came upon a camp of Gros Ventres and learned that they were always short of meat, because the man who owned all the buffalo kept them in a cave (or tunnel) in the ground.

White Man started to think up some plan to help the people. When he had decided on his plan, he said to the people: "Leave this camping ground and move away." They did so. But White Man stayed behind and turned himself into a little mangy pup.

Soon a little girl, the daughter of the man who kept the buffalo, came to the deserted camping ground, looked around, and found the pup. She was glad and took it back home. When she got back home she showed the pup to her parents. They said: "That's not a real dog, but White Man. Let him go. Kick him out and let him die." But the little girl insisted on keeping and raising the pup, and had her own way. The pup remained inside the lodge and was well fed and cared for.

The keeper of the buffalo had his camp just outside the cave where he kept them. He used to pass out the buffalo for the Gros Ventres in only limited numbers. That is why the Gros Ventres were always short of meat and hungry. Every day the man would let one buffalo out of the cave to water and graze, and each evening he would call them and they would come back in the cave.

White Man, the pup, studied the situation. When the keeper got back home from caring for the buffalo, he would scratch and howl and act like a real pup. The man would scold him and say to him: "You are not a real pup; you are White Man." But the pup would work on the affections of the little girl and the man would quiet down.

White Man watched how the man let the buffalo out of the cave and got them back, and awaited his chance. One evening as the man was putting the buffalo in the cave for the night, the pup ran out among them and decided to hide on the scrotum of an old bull. He took a good hold of the scrotum. The old bull went by the man who failed to notice the pup hanging on the bull's scrotum. So the pup got inside the cave, and did not let go his hold until the bull was far inside. Then the pup let go his hold and turned himself into a great big ferocious dog and started to bark.

This was strange to the buffalo, and caused commotion among them. They started milling around and finally stampeded toward the opening of the cave. The keeper heard the commotion and suspected that White Man had gotten inside the cave. The keeper tried to hold the buffalo back, but they dashed madly through the cave opening, ran over the man and trampled him to death. 539 773

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[4] Cf. Kroeber, 1907, pp. 65-67. Kroeber's informant, Flea, was of the same generation as our narrator, The Boy.

White Man kept barking till he had driven all the buffalo out of the cave and scattered them in all directions so they would not return to the cave. Then White Man assumed his own body again, went back to the dead keeper's camp, and raped the keeper's wife and daughter. Then he left to go in search of the camp of the main body of the Gros Ventres. When he arrived there he announced to them that he had driven all the buffalo out of the cave and that the keeper was dead and told them all he had done, and foretold that they would never more have trouble in getting buffalo. Since that time the buffalo have remained on top of the ground and the Gros Ventres have had plenty of meat and have been hungry no longer.

3. Earthmaker and the Deluge[5]

The (primeval) keeper of the Flat Pipe, known as Earthmaker, knew in some way that the earth was going to be covered with water. It must have been that he was the only one who knew it for he was the only one who got ready to survive the flood. The Keeper made a big raft of logs and took the Pipe and put it on the raft. In the course of time the whole earth was under water. The Keeper just floated around everywhere on the raft, only himself and the Pipe with no other human beings or animals.[6] After a long time the Keeper saw a mountain top sticking up out of the water. He drifted toward it and landed there. When he landed he saw lots of birds and some animals. Right away he was glad that he had struck land and had some company in the way of animals and birds. He knew that the helldiver (mud hen), turtle, beaver, and muskrat were water beings. So he had them dive to get some earth from the bottom and to bring it back to where he was. First he sent Helldiver who after a while came up drowned. The

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[5] Cf. Kroeber, 1907, pp. 59-61 (Nos. 1 and 2). Our version of the deluge story seems to correspond with Kroeber's No. 1 in which the person who sends the animals to dive is not identified directly with the trickster. The incidents in our version correspond, however, somewhat to those in Kroeber's No. 2, including the importance of the pipe and the making of man and woman. The Boy, our narrator, had thought that the latter might show Christian influence but stated that when he questioned older men, like Bushy Head, they emphatically declared that the incident was included in the old Gros Ventre tradition. [R.F.]

[6] Charles Buckman's version of this myth differed in that he claimed that "Earthmaker was floating in a pipe bowl,—the sacred pipe [Flat Pipe] represents this." Floating in the pipe bowl corresponds to the Arapaho version. [171]

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Keeper examined him and found some mud in the folds of his feet. He took the mud off and put it away on the raft. Then the Keeper sent Turtle to dive. Turtle also came up drowned, and the Keeper found some mud on the fold of his neck and put it where the other mud was. Next the Keeper sent Beaver to dive. Beaver came up drowned but without any mud. Last he sent Muskrat to dive. Muskrat came up drowned, but like Beaver without any mud. Then the Keeper spread the mud out to dry in the sun. When it was dried out the Keeper took a pinch of the dry dust between thumb and index finger, faced east, held up the pinch of dry dust towards the east then back towards his shoulder and sang Ni:həhat's first song: "My holiness have pity on me" (No. 35). Then he held the pinch of dry dust again towards the east and brought it back to his shoulder and sang the same song again. Again the third time he did the same and at the end of the third singing of this first song released the dry dust from between his thumb and index finger and said: "Go as far as the eyes can reach," and immediately ground appeared on top of the water.

Then he took another pinch of dry dust, turnd to the south and went through the whole procedure that he had gone through when turning towards the east, singing likewise in each case the same song. Then he took the last pinch, the remainder of the dust, and turning to the west went through the same procedure, still singing White Man's first song. And each time more ground appeared. After this last turning to the west all the birds and animals gave their own special calls. They rejoiced for there was ground again.

Then the Keeper with his Pipe was on dry earth, and he went around all alone, the only human survivor. Wherever he wandered from one place to another he always took the Pipe. After a while he became tired of being alone. So he decided to make another man like himself. He took mud and moulded it into the shape of a human being and held it in his hand and breathed on it three times. After the third breathing the man appeared, like himself. And now he had a male partner. So the three, the Keeper, the man and the Pipe went around together. After a while the Keeper said: "We have no way to increase unless we have a female." So when the man was asleep, the Keeper took out the last lowest rib on the man's left side and breathed on it three times and the last time he breathed a woman appeared. The Keeper said to the man and woman: "Get married and live together and multiply mankind."

So the man and woman lived together and the Keeper continued to stay with them. The couple bore children and after a while there were again a lot of people. The Keeper decided to teach the man and woman all about the Pipe, the Keeper's lodge, and so forth. "Whenever the Pipe is transferred from one Keeper to another, all the societies in the tribe,—age societies, soldiers, Stars, Grass Dancers, Crazy Dancers, and so on,—should sit in and sing their songs and imitate the calls which the birds and animals gave when I made the land again. If any of these societies should get mixed up and one should sing the other's song then they must say: 'We have lost track of our song,' and must stop singing. But this must happen three times before they quit singing for good on such an occasion." And so all the societies imitate the calls of animals and birds. 539 773

Then the people multiplied more and more and followed strictly all the teaching about the Flat Pipe. This was the one and only sacred pipe they had until the time when the other sacred pipe, the Feathered Pipe, appeared on the scene. And it was the Ruler of the Storm who gave the Gros Ventre the Feathered Pipe.

What became of Keeper is not known, whether he died a natural death or not, nor is anything known of what became of White Man.

4. Origin of Death

When Earthmaker had made man and woman, and everything was finished, Earthmaker, man, woman and the animals were all sitting around admiring how beautiful everything was and talking together. Earthmaker put the question to humans and animals: "Now, how do you want things to run? You are going to multiply. If you die, shall you stay dead, or shall you come back to life again?" So the man and woman and animals had to decide, with Earthmaker as the judge.

The man took a buffalo chip and threw it in the water, saying: "Here's the way I want our lives to run." The chip sank and then came up to the surface. "I want life to be like that. We shall die but we shall come back to life again."

But the bear said: "No, that way won't do. Soon the earth would be full and there would be no room, and not enough for everyone to eat. There will be more pleasure and happiness in life if all die. Then there will always be new generations to succeed them." So the bear took a rock and threw it in the water, saying: "Here is the way I want life to be." The rock sank and remained down.

So Earthmaker decided: "This is the way it shall be, like this rock."

5. He-who-starved-to-death[1]

A long time ago the Gros Ventre lived in a land that was good, with plenty of game and of other things needed and used in their way of life.

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[1] This story is not recorded by Kroeber. It contains the incident of a person crossing a body of water on the legs of a bird and shaken off, which was mentioned by Kroeber (1907, p. 58) as one of the motifs widespread in central N. America which to that date had not been recorded for the Gros Ventres or Arapaho. It also contains another common motif, that of the magically replenished food, which does not occur in Kroeber's Gros Ventre collection. [R.F.] [171]

539 773 At that time there lived a man who was then the Keeper of the Flat Pipe. When the man's first son was born the child was beloved and was declared to be the Pipe Son according to custom. The boy was very happy as his parents showered all their affections on him. This went on until another son was born to the Keeper and his wife. For some unaccountable reason this second son won the affections of his parents over those of his older brother and so became the Pipe Son and he instead of his older brother got everything in the way of affection, attention and favors from his parents. This caused a break in the harmony and happiness which had prevailed in the family up to that time. The older brother became violently jealous of his younger brother.

One day while the older brother was out hunting buffalo, the enemy attacked the Gros Ventre camp. The younger brother wished to distinguish himself and so prove himself worthy of the esteem which his parents and all the people had for him. And so he decided to join the fight which took place. In the absence of his brother he took a red otter skin belonging to his brother and went out and joined in the fight. This red otter skin was very rare and was used by the older brother as his war medicine and when he wore it on his person he never failed to distinguish himself in battle.

While the fight was still on, the older brother came home from his hunting. On being told by his parents that a fight was going on, he immediately got ready to take part in it. He went to look for his red otter skin but could not find it. So he asked his parents: "What has become of my otter skin?" They told him: "Your brother took it and went to the fight."

The older brother was very angry at his younger brother and vowed that upon the latter's return from the fight he would give him a sound upbraiding. As soon as his brother got back from the fight he upbraided him severely and said to him: "If you wish to own a red otter skin go to the place where they are found and get one for yourself." The younger brother took this violent scolding of his brother very seriously and felt it deeply in his heart. After that he grieved and pined and hardly ever remained around the lodge, but stayed out alone away from the camp and was very sad and cried most of the time. He rarely came home. When he did so his parents would try their best by constantly talking to him to pacify him, but it was of no avail. He said to his parents: "I cannot get out of my mind the matter of the red otter skin. I am resolved to go where they can be acquired." In spite of the warnings and entreaties of his parents and the other people to discourage the young man from this very dangerous undertaking, he struck out towards the rising of the sun and the habitat of the red otter.

After traveling for many days and nights and crying most of the way, he came in sight of a large camp of lodges. He did not hesitate to enter the camp and was not afraid, as he was resolved to acquire a red otter skin even at the risk of his life. The people welcomed him warmly and said to him: "What are you doing so far from home and from your parents?"

They knew how his parents loved him most dearly because he was the Pipe Child. He answered them: "I am going to the place where the red otter was gotten." They were horror-struck and said to him: "By all means turn back from going there, as no one who has gone there has ever returned, but has lost his life." The young man however was determined to go on and did not lend an ear to the advice and warnings given him by the people. Disregarding all they said he went on his way toward the rising sun.

After many days of traveling he came upon another large camp. Here too he was known as the Pipe Child and was given a warm welcome and good treatment. They too warned him but he went on. Finally he arrived at a third camp and was likewise well received and fully warned. When however the people saw that he was determined to go on and was not going to listen to their counsel to go back, they said to him: "All right. But at least listen carefully while we tell you what lies in store for you on this final and fourth leg of your journey and quest. When you leave this camp go toward the rising of the sun. After many days of travel you will come upon a lone lodge on the edge of a large body of water and facing toward the rising of the sun. When you get to the lodge you should do nothing else but start to cry and to walk around the lodge. When night comes lie down and sleep at the foot of the first pole to the left of the lodge door. The next night sleep at the foot of the second pole, and so on each night at the succeeding pole until you reach the last of the thirty poles. When you succeed in doing this then the man to whom the lodge belongs will invite you inside and will ask you what is your reason for inflicting so much punishment on yourself. You will tell him about the red otter. Then the man will grant your request as you will practically have gained the red otter by being able to sleep at each of the thirty lodge poles without having taken anything to eat or drink. But by all means do whatever the man tells you to do, following every instruction exactly. Another danger however awaits you. For besides giving you the red otter the man at the lodge will offer you a gift of one of his many birds that live there with him. Among them is a certain red bird who is very evil and tricky. Those who have picked him as a gift have been exposed to great danger as the red bird flies up into air with anyone that takes hold of his legs and after flying around a long while deposits him on an island in the middle of the large body of water. Every time without fail such men have died from starving or exposure or drowning."

So the young man after listening carefully to all this friendly counsel and warning, struck out toward the rising of the sun. After traveling many days and just when he was weary and tired out, as he came over a high ridge he saw a large body of water and on the shore a lodge pitched. He was glad that he had now reached his goal. On arriving at the lodge he did what he was told to do. He began walking around the lodge crying at the same time. When night came on he lay down at the foot of the

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first pole to the left of the lodge and slept there. The next morning he got up, and all day long he walked around the lodge and cried. When night came he lay down at the next pole and slept there. He did this day after day, always moving to the next pole each night and sleeping there.

When he came to the pole straight back from and opposite the door he was unable any longer to stand up on his feet but had to crawl from one pole to the next one. When he reached the pole half way between the back of the lodge and the door he was unable to crawl any more and so he rolled from one pole to the next one. He was now so weak from lack of food and drink that he could not cry out loud any more but just shed tears. He went on from pole to pole. Mustering up his last energy he rolled to the 30th and last pole and fainted. This was the last he remembered.

When he awoke he heard talking inside the lodge, and soon he heard the man say to his wife: "Go out and bring our son inside our lodge, so we can care for him and ask him why he is punishing himself so much." The woman went out and exclaimed: "He is near death, being a mere skeleton." The young man was unable to walk or even to move. So she dragged him inside and laid him gently on a soft bed of robes. The man said to his wife: "Give the young man a drink of water." She dipped a small shell into the water and handed it to the young man to drink. The young man thought to himself: "This small shellful of water is not enough to quench my great thirst." But the man spoke kindly to him and told him: "Go ahead and drink. You will get enough." So he drank his fill and the shell was still full of water as before he began to drink.

Then the man said to his wife: "Give the young man food to eat." She gave him on the shell four pieces of meat already cut. He thought to himself: "These four small pieces of meat are not enough to satisfy my great hunger." But the man told him: "Do not worry. Go ahead and eat the meat." So he began eating the meat, and, each time after he took a piece, there remained four pieces of meat, and when he had eaten his fill there were still four pieces of meat left.

The young man then slept four nights in the man's lodge. At the end of this time he was fully recovered from his experience. The man then asked him: "Why have you come here and why have you done all these things to yourself?" The young man replied: "My older brother saddened me most grievously by scolding me for using his red otter skin war medicine. I felt so bad that I left my home and came toward the rising of the sun to acquire a red otter skin to have for my own. I have been told this is the place to come." The man said: "Yes I will give you what you ask. It is a request easily complied with. And also besides giving you the otter skin I am giving you one of my many birds that are along the shore of the water. Pick out any bird from the flock and then come back to my lodge to get your red otter skin along with full and final instructions."

So the young man went along the shore and soon came upon a large flock of most beautiful birds in many different colors and plumages. He

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walked among them and they did not run away from him. He was undecided as to which bird he would pick, for it was hard to tell which was the most beautiful. He finally decided on a certain one, and, as he stooped down to pick it up, the red bird that he had been warned not to pick as a gift, got in the way. But knowing the red bird was evil and without pity he would not take it. Every time however he was about to catch the bird of his choice, the red bird got in his way. Then the young man began to study the red bird. He looked him over carefully and saw that he was a very beautiful bird after all, being all pure red in color and with a bunch of red feathers forming a beautiful arch on his head. He decided then to choose the red bird as after all it measured up to all the requirements of beauty.

So disregarding the advice he had gotten from the people he took hold of the bird's legs. As soon as he closed his hands on them, the red bird took wing and soared up in the air with him, and he could not relax his grip on the legs of the bird. After flying around a long time the bird made for the island in the middle of the great body of water and dropped the young man there.

The young man walked around on the island, and found there many skeletons of human beings who had met the same fate, death, which now faced him. There was nothing to eat there except a few berries and some frogs and moss that had washed ashore, and white clay. He ate these the best he could. He fully realized that it was impossible to swim back to the mainland as the distance was too great. He cried all of his spare time in the hope that something would take pity on him and rescue him.

Every once in a while the red bird would fly over the island and would say: "Oh, the one who eats rosebush berries is still alive," and then would fly away. One day as the young man was crying along the shore of the island he came across a little water snake. He picked it up and looked at it. Then he took a small ornament off his person and tied it around the neck of the little water snake and laid down the snake again unharmed.

After having spent more than thirty nights on the island he was getting very weak again and was reduced to skin and bones. This time as he was walking around crying he heard singing behind him. He stopped and listened. Finding that the singing was coming toward him, he stood there and waited. Then as he listened he heard these words: "I am here and I am coming." The singing stopped and then a voice said: "Man, my father sent me here to call you to our lodge." The young man thought it best not to move at once, but to wait until the voice invited him four times. After the fourth invitation he looked all around and saw no one. Then looking down he saw the little water snake on whom he had tied the ornament. The snake said to him: "Follow me to my father's lodge." So saying the snake went into the water and the man followed it under the water.

After a long walk under the water they came to a large lodge with two big water monsters painted on it, their heads meeting at the door. The little water snake said to him: "Go inside. This is my father's lodge." So

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he went in. A big water monster lay at the back of the lodge and welcomed him in. So he sat down near the water monster's head. The water monster said: "You have done something which must be rewarded. You are the man who tied the ornament around the neck of the little water snake. This little water snake is my last child and his name is 'The Last Child.' Now listen to me and you will see your parents and all things which you hold dear. For I have pitied you and I am going to rescue you from your desperate plight and also reward you for what you have done for The Last Child."

The water monster then sang a song with these words in it: "Hair Rope, have pity on me." After the monster sang this song he gave the young man a Hair Rope made of the long hair from the forelegs of the buffalo and from the back of the neck of buffalo bulls. And he told the young man: "Use this Hair Rope to get revenge on the red bird who so ruthlessly carried you away and left you alone on the island to die. Lay the Hair Rope in a circle on the ground as if setting a trap and say: 'I want a fat young buffalo to be here.' And immediately you will turn into a young buffalo. After some time birds of all kinds will come around and eat you and if the red bird even so much as steps inside the ring of Rope you will have him trapped and completely at your mercy. If that plan does not lure him into the trap, wish for a fat elk; if that fails, then for a fat deer; if that fails, then for a fat white-tailed deer; if that fails, finally for a fat young wolf and this will not fail. The red bird is very powerful, above all on top of the ground. I am the ruler under the water. I transfer my power to you and ordain that for all time to come this power shall be used by all generations of men, and shall be used for the purpose of revenge." So saying the monster told the young man: "Get on my neck and I will take you to the mainland. But do not open your eyes until I say to you: 'Now get off.'"

So the young man got on the water monster's neck and they started for the mainland. They went on and on, and after a long time the young man heard a sound as of scraping on rocks. Thinking they had reached the shore of the mainland he opened his eyes and at that instant he was again on the island where he had been before. The monster rebuked him for his disobedience in opening his eyes before it was time and said to him: "That was the one and only power I had to help you. There is nothing further I can do for you."

So the young man was back on the island as far as ever from home and from the fulfillment of his desire to have the red otter skin. So he began crying again, and he did this daily for a long time. One day he was walking along and crying. He went near a big tree and as he went under it he heard a voice saying: "Stop your crying and look up at me. I am the bald eagle and I am very powerful. I am taking pity on you and am going to help you." Looking up the young man saw a bald eagle perched on a limb.

The eagle said to the young man: "I am transferring my lodge to you and you are to have my body as a flag when you put up my lodge. I am going to take you to the mainland. You must do what I say and I will succeed.

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But if you do not do as I say, as you did with the water monster, I will not succeed. Take hold of my tail feathers with both hands, and close your eyes and you are not to open them until you touch ground with your feet."

The young man did as he was told and took a firm hold of the eagle's tail feathers and closed his eyes. Then the eagle let out his loud whistle, took wing, and sailed up in the air. The young man could feel that he was being carried through space and he was determined that this time he was not going to open his eyes until he touched ground with his feet, as the eagle had told him. He could feel the eagle sailing as it were in a circle and after a time he felt the ground under his feet. Upon opening his eyes he found that the eagle had deposited him in front of the lodge where he had slept and suffered so much for thirty nights.

He stood there not knowing what to do. Then the man whose lodge it was invited him inside. He went inside and sat down. The man said to him: "I am very sorry for you. The red bird is very evil and without pity. But now that you have gone through all these things required and are still alive, I will give you the red otter skin, and also horses and a bunch of leg hoofs of buffalo to use for a bell [rattle] on the horses' necks." The man took down the hoof bell from its place on one of the poles of the lodge and told the young man to follow him to the shore. On arriving at the shore the man shook the hoof bell violently and a beautiful black stallion with a bob tail came out from the water. The man now told him: "This is your horse and he is the father of all the horses that I am going to give you. And here is what you must do to get back home with these horses. These horses must not be abused or ill-treated and must not be killed. Whoever of your people so maltreats them will not own any horses for in a mysterious way he will lose his ownership. When I transfer this hoof bell from my hand to yours, shake it as you saw me do, turn around, and go back to where you came from toward the setting sun. When night comes you must lay your head forward when you sleep, and for four nights you are not to look back or around, but walk with your head down and your eyes on the ground. If you do not do as I say, the horses will disappear and you will have gone through all this suffering in vain. But if you carry out what I say, you will have wealth, happiness, long-life, and a renown that shall last for all time to come.[8] Finally I impart to you all my power and my whole being, under one other condition, namely, that you are not to give a single thing, a horse or anything else, to your older brother who caused you all the suffering and privation which you have gone through this long time. At each of the Gros Ventre camps which you will pass you will give to each man, woman, and child a horse, and in the following manner. Halt a good distance away from the camp with your horses and call one man from the camp, and tell him to go and announce to the other people to

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[8] Cf. Kroeber, 1907, p. 128, incident of water monster giving horses to young man.

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bring all of their ropes, that 'He-who-starved-to-death' would give them each a horse. Now go back toward the setting sun and do as I have told you."

So as soon as the man put the hoof bell in the hand of He-who-starved-to-death, the latter turned around shaking the bell and started out toward the setting sun. As he went along it was all he could do not to look back, for he could hear the tramping of the horses behind him, sometimes nearly running over him in their frolicking and play. But he had made up his mind firmly to do as he was told for he had had bitter experiences. Each night he lay down with his head toward the setting sun as he had been told. And at each of the three camps on the way he gave a horse to each person there. He successfully arrived back at the fourth camp, his home, and there gave a horse to each person except to his older brother. To him he would not give a single horse or anything else. His brother wept almost continually and was rarely seen in camp after that. And now the younger son of the Keeper of the Flat Pipe was back home and safe and was known as He-who-starved-to-death.

After he was fully rested and recovered from his experiences and travels he began to lay plans as to how to get revenge on the red bird who had caused him so much suffering. So as he had been instructed to do by the water monster he sweated on four different days and in the sweat lodge told his story to his people. The first of the four sweatings was just for the purpose of getting ready for his revenge on the red bird.

After having gone through the ceremonies four times on four different days, he went away from the camp to a knoll and there laid down his Hair Rope trap. Standing in the middle of the circle of Rope he said: "I want a fat young buffalo to lie here," and immediately he himself turned into a buffalo. Soon a great number of birds flew to the spot from every direction, there to eat of the fat buffalo. After a considerable time the red bird appeared there. He alighted some distance from where the buffalo lay and down windward and asked one of the birds to toss him a piece of fat of the buffalo. He hopped to the fat tossed to him and inspected it carefully. Then he flew up and circled over the buffalo and said: "The one who eats rosebush berries cannot trap or outwit me, he is not powerful or clever enough," and the red bird flew away. So He-who-starved-to-death gave up and went back to camp.

After quite a long time he again went away from camp, but to a different spot, and again set his Hair Rope trap. This time he said: "I want a fat young elk to lie here," and at that instant he turned into a fat elk. As at the first setting of the trap, many birds came there to eat the fat meat. Soon the red bird came again and asked one of the birds to toss him a piece of fat. He inspected it as he had done before and on finding that it was that of his enemy he flew away saying: "You are not smart enough to trap me."

And so in turn He-who-starved-to-death set his Hair Rope trap for the red bird as he had been told to do and in the order prescribed,—the third

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time by turning into a fat deer, the fourth into a fat white-tailed deer and the fifth into a fat wolf. The last time He-who-starved-to-death put perfume on himself, and the red bird, failing until too late to discern that it was his enemy and not a real wolf, was fooled. Before he found out his mistake he had already stepped inside the circle of the Hair Rope and was trapped. But not knowing that he was trapped he flew away taunting He-who-starved-to-death and calling him names.

So He-who-starved-to-death proceeded to do the thing he had been told to do by the water monster, by the bald eagle and by the man at the lodge by the water's edge. Since he was a Pipe Child he felt that he had the hereditary right to use some of the rites of the Flat Pipe in order to war against and totally destroy the red bird who had great power and who made life on top of the ground almost unbearable for anyone who wished to advance and get along better.

When the red bird flew away out of sight into the clouds, He-who-starved-to-death collected himself, fixed himself up, brushed down his hair, sat down facing the rising sun, and began to sing the song of the water monster at his home under the water. He moved his hands as if pulling something down from above with a rope, and at the end of each song he uttered the sacred refrain of the Pipe songs: "Yo-ho-ho-ho." He sang the song a number of times and before long the red bird appeared in the sky coming down toward him. When he saw this he was encouraged and sang with renewed fervor, and after he finished singing he jerked his hands down violently with all his might. And the red bird hit the earth in a cloud of dust at his feet, with one leg securely snared in the Hair Rope trap. "Now, red bird," said He-who-starved-to-death, "I have gotten you at last and I am going to mete out to you a far worse and more cruel punishment than you inflicted on me. In the end I am going to destroy you completely and the human race will hear of this for all time. In a short time from now you will be no more." So saying he proceeded to pluck the feathers off the red bird until there remained only a few down feathers around the bird's beak. The proud red bird was now a sorry sight, and realizing it closed his eyes and hung his head in shame. He-who-starved-to-death taunted the bird and twisted his beak around: "Now if you are as powerful as you claim to be, do something for yourself, for you have no feathers on your body and winter will soon be here and you will freeze to death." So he tormented the red bird for some time until finally the bird got angry, raised up his head, opened his eyes and said to He-who-starved-to-death: "Yes, I am the most powerful one on top of the ground, and now I will prove it. You cannot get the best of me. You are less powerful than I am." So saying the bird shook himself violently and after he ceased to shake all his feathers came back on his body again. He became whole and entire and with a few more cutting and final remarks to his enemy he flew up and disappeared in the clouds.

He-who-starved-to-death sat there for a while sort of bewildered. But recovering himself soon, he began to sing the song belonging to the Hair

539 Rope trap as he had been taught to do by the water monster under the water and repeated the same pulling-down motions he had made before. 773 He succeeded in pulling down the red bird and plucking him as he had done the first time, but the red bird was able to get his feathers back again.

Four times in all he did all this and each time the bird got his feathers back again. But He-who-starved-to-death did not give up. For the fifth time he began singing, believing that the red bird had exhausted his power the fourth time. Sure enough on this fifth trial after he had sung the song a number of times, the red bird appeared, came toward him and landed at his feet with the Hair Rope trap still attached to one of his legs. He plucked all the bird's feathers off again. Again the red bird shook himself violently as he had done the other four times, but all his efforts failed and his feathers did not come back again.

So He-who-starved-to-death tormented the bird to his heart's content until he tired of doing so. Then he said to the bird: "Now since you did not pity me on that island where you put me against my will, and since you do not even now respect me nor my present true name 'He-who-starved-to-death,' but you alone still call me 'He-who-eats-rosebush-berries,' I will not be moved by any prayer or entreaty you might make. I doubt whether you will even attempt to pray, for you are too proud and think too much of yourself, having the idea that you do not need anyone's help. It took me all summer to trap you and to get revenge on you. But now I have conquered you completely and will leave you to your fate. You will starve and freeze to death after winter sets in."

So He-who-starved-to-death, the Flat Pipe Child and the second son of the Keeper of the Flat Pipe at that time, now became ruler of all the people who lived on top of the ground. He added many rites to the Flat Pipe rite,—the invocation of the Last Child, the Hair Rope, the song of the water monster. He did so much and so well for his people that after he died his name was invoked when the Gros Ventres prayed in earnest and has been so invoked down to this present day.[9]

6. Origin of the Feathered Pipe[10]

a. *Version of The Boy*

All the people after the flood were living the life of the Flat Pipe as they had been taught to live by White Man. There were many people then who lived happily and multiplied. 539 773

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[9] The horse does not enter into the Flat Pipe rite although He-who-starved-to-death was the one who brought horses to the Gros Ventres. There are, however, certain associations between the keeper of the Flat Pipe and horses (see p. 63).

[10] Kroeber, 1907, p. 112 (No. 23), gives a short version of origin of the "chief Pipe" which undoubtedly refers to the Feathered Pipe. See also our No. 7, in which young man dies, is placed in Feathered Pipe lodge, and storm comes.

All were camped in a circle in a certain place. Quite a distance away there was high ground with a steep bank on one end of it. A certain childless couple decided to move up to this high ground. The man was very successful in his hunting there in that isolated place and spent most of his time hunting. Towards sundown one day they saw coming a big storm with lightning and rain. It looked as if it would be an unusually severe storm so they got everything ready, tightening the lodge and so forth. The man and woman then sat in the lodge. When the storm was within hearing distance they heard some men singing right in the storm. When the storm reached them it turned out to be a very severe one with high wind, though of short duration. During the storm the Ruler of the Storm spoke to the man and his wife: "You have been selected by the Ruler of the Storm to be Keepers of the Pipe and of that carved rock. Whenever a storm like this comes, use this pipe and rock to pray to the Ruler of the Storm not to be too hard on you." The Ruler of the Storm taught them the four different songs of the Pipe and the ritual of it.

When the storm was over the tent and everything the couple owned had been taken away by the storm. They looked around and saw a pipe and a rock with a human face carved in profile on it.

So now the Gros Ventre people had two pipes and bundles, the Flat Pipe and the Feathered Pipe. And they prospered and lived long and were happy and always had good luck. They had great reverence for both of the pipes, but greater reverence for the Flat Pipe. All the people lived together in one camp. And whenever they moved camping sites, the Flat Pipe as the senior pipe took the lead while the Feathered Pipe came next. If the people separated into two camps, so that one half had the Flat Pipe and the other the Feathered Pipe, the Feathered Pipe took the lead in this other party.

b. *Version by Thick*

A certain couple who lived at a time after the great Flood had a boy and this boy from the time he was a child never went out and played or joined with other children; he stayed by himself. He was a good boy, a very modest boy. This boy was like that up to about the age of 17 or 18. There was another family of another band, a member of which was a girl of the same nature,—a quiet, stay-at-home girl. Since neither went out and played they wouldn't have known one another; they must have been told through a dream. The boy said: "Well, my father and my mother, you go to this family. They have a girl. You go there and ask the parents of that girl if I can have her for my wife." And the father of course was glad to do it.

So he and his old woman went over to this family. When they got over there this man who had the daughter was glad to see these folks visit. "Well, old man, you have never come into my lodge before and I am glad you have come. Sit down." And he told his wife: "Cook for them." So they cooked

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and after they had eaten this man said: "Well, my friend, what I came for today is this. My son sent me over here to ask for your daughter. He wants to marry her." The girl's father said: "Thanks, thanks, I am glad somebody has asked for my daughter. All right. Now, you tell your son not to be in a big hurry because we want to make a lodge and when we are ready we will let you know."

So they went home and told their son and he said: "That is all right." So the girl's parents got busy and got hides and robes and made a big lodge all furnished. So when it was ready they pitched it and put everything in it and horses were tied by the lodge. Then they cooked a lot of food and brought it in there. Then they sent word to this other family: "Now we are ready for your son." So this man took his son over there. When they got there the girl's father came out and said: "Son-in-law, that is your lodge. Go right in." The girl went in. Then the man said: "Son-in-law, there is a lot of food in there and you have to invite old men." So the father-in-law called out and invited several old men to feast with this young couple. So the young couple stayed with the girl's parents for a long time.

After a while the young man said to his wife: "Well, we have stayed with your parents long enough. We will now stay with my parents." So they camped by his father.

One midsummer day it was very hot and they raised the lodge cover to let air in. In the evening the young fellow told his father: "Father, early in the morning I want you folks to move my lodge. You see that flat out there (away from the camp on the west side)? I want you to set my lodge there early in the morning." So the next morning the old people got busy and moved the lodge to where he wanted it. They did it without asking any questions and he didn't tell them why he asked this. After they moved it he said: "Now, father, you get a couple of old men (criers) to tell the people to fix up their lodges tight, so they won't blow over. There is to be a terrible wind."

So his father went back and got the men to announce what his son had said. And you know how it is, there are always many people who don't believe. "Why should I try to fix my lodge tight when it is a hot day and there is no wind?" But of course a lot of them fixed up their lodges tight. So the young fellow told his father: "You bring all my horses and picket them right here in front of the lodge." And the old man, without asking any questions, did everything his son told him. So he brought up all the horses, quite a lot, because both families had given the young couple horses. And after they did that the young man said: "Well, you go home." And after the young man's father went home they saw a little cloud in the west and it soon spread, and when it was coming there was lightning and thunder, and when it came to the camp, the wind and rain came together. It was like a cloudburst and where the young man's lodge was that thunder was just rolling.

After the storm had passed over very few lodges were left standing. They never did find the lodges of those who disobeyed. The old man went out and saw that his son's lodge, horses and belongings were all gone. He found only the two young persons sitting on the flat where the lodge had been. And then the old man walked out there, his son saw him coming and called to him at a distance: "Stop! Now go right back and tell the people I want all of them, young and old, to come, I want to show them something." So the old man turned and walked back and got the crier to announce that. So the whole tribe came and the young man told them: "Tell all the people to come in single file, coming from the west, my parents first, then my wife's parents, and then all the rest." So they did that. They came in single file. They came slowly and the young man had on only his robe. He put his robe back and held out both his hands touching and his wife did the same. And in his hands he had the Pipe and this woman had the Image. Neither the Pipe nor the Image had been made by the couple, but had been given them from heaven. Everybody went by and looked.

After everyone was gone, they got up and went home. Then people got busy and they got another lodge and everything that goes with it and set it up for this young couple again—horses and everything. And after he got his lodge and everything back, the young man and his wife went in and he told his father: "You call the old men, the noted men, call all of them." So they called all the old and noted men and they came in and the young man said: "All right. This thing has been done and I am going to tell you about it. From the time I was old enough to know I began to dream. And everything about the Pipe, how it is to be handled and what to do with it, I used to be told in my dreams. And that is why I had to be by myself and never go out and play. When I got to be a young man, I was told that the Pipe was ready. That is why I then asked for this girl. She was the same. And after that you know what happened. Well, here it is. From now on, whenever this Pipe is passed to another hand they will have to do the same. When this Pipe has to be passed on, you will have to make a raid on the one who gets it and take everything he has, the same as they did with me. You see they took my lodge and horses and everything, and they went up in the clouds. But this other, he will lose everything but it will remain among the people. I am going to bundle this Pipe and these other things have to go in (the feather stem, the Pipe, the Image, the owl and the whistle). When I pass this Pipe on there will be six persons that will keep the Pipe in turn and carry on the work, but every seventh keeper is going to become a holy man, and he will get all the power. He will have control of the weather, with power to cause and stop rain and storms." And the Gros Ventres claim that it has worked out just this way. Every seventh keeper became a great man, holy. In recent years old Bull Lodge got the Pipe and he must have been a seventh one in the series, and he became a holy man (bitä:nehi) with weather power.

c. *Version by Singer*

A certain young man was sleeping and in his dream a person came to him and said: "Don't camp in this circle. Camp off by yourself. You are going

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to get something." He did so. There was just a huge rain cloud and the thunder was terrible, and that is when Bha'a gave him the Feathered Pipe. He didn't have a horse or anything else left, but only the clothing he had on. He and his wife just sat there like that. When he was given the Pipe, this person said: "When this Pipe is given away the people receiving it want to do just as you did." So when the Pipe is transferred the new owner and his wife give away everything he has to the old owner and just sit there with nothing but the clothes they have on.

d. *Version by Al Chandler*[11]

This Feathered Pipe was gotten from a young fellow who was a very poor man. He didn't have any father or mother. They had died when he was young and he was staying with his grandmother. He used to have dreams that something was going to be given to him, something very important. He figured that people always have to pay something to get anything, so he thought he had better go out and rustle some horses to pay for what he was going to get. He went out two or three times and brought back quite a bunch of horses.

One summer he was sitting around in the daytime and something told him: "Well, you are going to get something now. You better get ready for it. The first thing you want to do is to get a big lodge. If you haven't got one, get it some way, buy it or ask for one." He went around and told people and they helped him out, they just gave him the lodge. After he got the lodge, he was told to put it up somewhere by itself. "Now after you do that," he was told, "you rustle good things like beadwork and what Indians have, blankets and things inside the lodge and fix your lodge up good. And you must have a horse tied to every one of the lodge pins. When you have finished with that, you go in there (in the lodge) and be there all alone." So after he got everything ready, he did this, just as he was told. Whoever this was who told him what to do knew that he was ready.

It was toward the middle of the day and he was in there all by himself. All at once it started to get cloudy and an electric storm and a strong wind came. After all the storm had passed, the people wondered what had happened. They looked over where the lodge had been, and nothing was there except a man sitting on the ground. The lodge, the horses, everything was gone. He was sitting there by himself with this Feathered Pipe and some kind of moccasins of animal fur (these are in the Pipe bundle now). Some old fellows came very close and asked him: "What happened?" "Well," he said, "you can all come now, all those who want to hear."

So the old men and old women came. They kept the youngsters and the young women away. This young man's name was Broken Knife. He told

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[11] When Al Chandler was a child he lived with Sitting High, who at that time was keeper of the Feathered Pipe.

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what had happened, and of course they were afraid to touch the Pipe. They had never seen anything like it. It was just glittering with different colors. They had never seen a Pipe like that. The stem is porcupine quill work with eagle feathers all along the stem. The young man knew all the songs that belong to the Feathered Pipe. The Pipe was given by Bha'a.

e. *Version by Garter Snake*[13]

A long time ago there lived a man named First Man, with two wives and two children. He used to have dreams, and in one of them he was told he was to be given something from above (heaven). After he had been told this the third time in dreams he called the old men together and said to them: "Three times I have dreamed that I am to be given something from above. I do not know what to do. I have called you together to tell you my dream and to get your advice." One old man as spokesman advised him: "If you dream this again, accept the gift, for the good of all the people." After this the First Man had the same dream again (the fourth time). He did not see anybody but he said: "All right, I'll accept it." He was then told in his dream to get ready four nights after that.

On the fourth afternoon after, he told his father: "You and some of the old men, criers, go around and tell the people to make their lodges fast so they will not blow down. There is going to be a big storm with great wind and much rain." The criers went around and warned the people. Some obeyed and some made light of the warning. First Man then took his own lodge and set it up some distance from the camp. He then picketed his horses near his lodge and sent his younger wife back to the main camp to stay there that night. But First Man and his older wife, First Woman, with one of his two children, remained in his lodge.

About dusk that evening a heavy black cloud with lightning came from the west. That night a terrific storm, with very sharp lightning and thunder, violent wind and torrents of rain, started and lasted all night until about daybreak. During it, people could hear a whistling from a whistle. The next morning the sun came out warm, and there was water all over the place.

First Man's father was worried about his son and went out to look toward's his son's lodge. The lodge and horses were gone. He saw only First Man, First Woman and the child, sitting out there on the flat. So he called to his people: "Come out and look. Everything my son owned is gone. He

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[13] In early life Garter Snake had been Pipe Child to the Feathered Pipe. Her version came from her father, Bull Lodge, a former keeper. She emphasized that she was giving us what and only what her father had told and that he had not told her everything. She mentioned that when her father was about to tell her the story of the Pipe he said: "Listen very closely to what I am going to tell you; you can tell it to your grandchildren when you get old."

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is sitting out on the flat." So everybody came out and looked. The man and his wife and child were sitting there on sage with their heads and faces covered with some kind of covering sent down from heaven. The people were afraid to go near them. Up above a man and woman singing was heard (by First Man? or by the people?).

At last about noon the young man uncovered his head and his father came closer: "Son, we don't know what to do. What do you want us to do?" He replied: "First, put up a lodge with all its furnishings close to where my lodge was which was taken from me. Then get sage and put it inside the lodge at the back, with the heads of the sage pointing to the center, and put some down on the ground from where we are to the door of the lodge." After all this was done, the three walked over to the lodge and went in.

During the storm First Man had been given four things from above: The Pipe, a feathered thing, an image and a whistle. The Pipe had been given by the Supreme Being through Bha'a. The Supreme Being was father of the Pipe. He was also told what names he and his first wife should thenceforth be known by: Whistling Man and Woman-takes-the-lead because she had to take the lead in all wanderings.

She became the main Pipe Woman who would carry the Pipe when the people were on the march and who would take it in and out of the Keeper's lodge. The man's younger wife became second Pipe Woman whose duty it was to handle the Pipe when the main Pipe Woman was in her menses, for at such times the latter was not allowed to handle the Pipe.

The night after the storm Whistling Man asked to have a drum (or four drums?) brought over to his lodge. He called the old men over and sang four songs (no doubt the four Feathered Pipe songs). He put the four gifts each in a separate covering, placed them all together in a black-bear robe, tied the bundle, and put it in the back of his lodge on the sage that had been spread there. After he had wrapped the Pipe and sung the four songs, he told the story of his dreams and gave instructions about the Pipe and its ritual.

Every night after this he was told in his dreams what other things should be put in the bundle with the Pipe. These were various birds of the air,—for the Pipe came from above,—except one thing from a ground animal, a musk-rat skin. He also had somebody make a drum and a wooden bowl, which still hang with, not in, the Pipe bundle. It took him several years to get all these things together. The last thing he got for the bundle was a tanned elk hide.

When all these things were ready, he took a white-buffalo robe, cut it to size, and wrapped the Pipe itself in this. The other things too he wrapped separately, the feathered thing in smoked skin, the image in hair of buffalo fur, but the whistle was just put unwrapped in the bundle.

He was told too (in his dreams) about the ritual of the Pipe. The boughs or needles of sweet pine were to be used as incense. At the time they were camped far from the mountains where sweet pine grows, but in Whistling

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Man's lodge was a whole branch of sweet pine. Where it came from, the people did not know. The people in case of sickness would come to Whistling Man with offerings of tanned deer or antelope skin to "cover" the Pipe. After the offerings had accumulated he had some of the men make a sweat-lodge, with pile of dirt outside (from the excavation inside the lodge), and a buffalo skull on top of it, and with a long pole on which the offerings were hung. When all was ready and the stones were heated, an old man prayed, inviting four times, first the Supreme Being, and afterwards the old men present, to sweat.

Whistling Man also told the people that the Feathered Pipe had been given them for their well-being and protection, that it should remain with the Gros Ventres as long as the world would last, and that it should never be transferred to any other tribe, no matter what should happen.

So Whistling Man kept the Pipe for forty years. Then he was told in his dream of a coming great flood. Forty years after the flood, when he was so old and feeble that he could hardly dance at all, he was told in a dream to transfer it to some other Keeper. He then made a drum and a gourd rattle. The drum was painted half black and half red, black to represent black (storm) clouds and red to represent the earth. He was told, too, from time to time to add to the Pipe bundle certain specified things: the whole skin of a muskrat, a crane, a big white swan, a duck, helldivers, and an unidentified bird called Big Bird. After all these things were finally gathered together, he wrapped each one separately. He was further told to collect one feather from each of all kinds of birds and tie these feathers on the stick to make the feathered thing. All these objects were then put in the Pipe bundle which had its cover of black-bear robe and an outside cover of tanned elk hide.

When all was ready, he was told in a dream: "You are now ready to turn over this Pipe. But wait until you are told." The man chosen to receive it had to be a good, noted and wealthy man. Finally, after a time, Whistling Man gave it to his uncle who meanwhile had been told in a dream that it was to be given to him. Whistling Man said to the people: "Now, my children, I am going to give you my son (the Pipe)." And he said to his uncle: "After you keep it four years, transfer it to somebody else. If you cannot find a worthy man, keep it four more years. If at the end of your second term (eight years) you cannot find a worthy successor, keep it four more years. But at the end of twelve years you have to transfer it." When Whistling Man actually turned over the Pipe it was night time. He did what had been done to him in the storm when he first got the Pipe: He took the same black cloth and put it over the heads of his uncle and the latter's wife. Then the people raided his uncle and took his lodge, belongings, horses, everything, as Whistling Man's property had been taken in the storm. The next day the people clubbed together and gave the uncle and his wife a lodge, bedding, horses and everything they needed, and gave them horses to give to the nephew who had given his uncle the Pipe.

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And so as time went on the Pipe passed from Keeper to Keeper at least every twelve years. Later the new Keeper was appointed, not by the previous one acting alone from instructions in a dream, but by consultation and agreement with the old men called together by the Keeper to elect the successor. Since the days of the first Keeper, Whistling Man, up to the time Bull Lodge became keeper, there had been 200 keepers.

7. He-who-dreams-of-Bha'a

The man and woman who were given the Feathered Pipe by the Ruler of the Storm had at the time no children. They were a young couple still in the prime of life. After they got the Feathered Pipe a boy was born to them. This boy grew up like any other boy. For a while he was called Pipe Child. After he got to be a good sized boy (about 14 years old) he used to leave his father's lodge, go away from the camp, and cry. Pipe Child used to do this every once in a while. Sometimes he would come back sooner than usual and would walk around his father's lodge and cry; after a while he would get tired and would go stay to the back of the lodge on the outside on the place of honor and would sit reclining against the lodge just where the Feathered Pipe was kept and would sleep there. At other times he would go inside the lodge to the Feathered Pipe bundle and embrace it and cry; and when he got sleepy he would lie down on the bed right under the tripod where the Feathered Pipe was kept.

Pipe Child did all this over and over again. He would go out away from camp and cry or he would come and cry around his father's lodge. His father and mother would be glad at this, for they knew that the boy was in this way forming his character. They did not tell the boy this in so many words, but silently they approved.

While the boy was doing this the people were camped near a steep coulee with water at the bottom of it. This was where the people went to fetch water. One day the enemy sneaked up to them at a time when a lot of women had gone down together to the stream for water. Here the enemy attacked them. The banks were steep and the Gros Ventre women could not easily make their escape. So a lot of the women were killed and some were scalped alive. The alarm spread rapidly and the Gros Ventre then got their horses ready and put on their war regalia and prepared to pursue the enemy and to give battle. Pipe Child's father said to him: "My boy, you are old enough now. You are nearly grown up (the boy was about 16 or 17 years old at the time, which was about the age at which fathers let their sons go to battle). So you will have to live like the rest of the people. You might as well start now. You go along on this fighting expedition." The father dressed up Pipe Child, tied his own war medicine on the boy (war medicines were tied on the head or elsewhere), gave him a spear but no other weapons, mounted the boy on his own (the father's) horse, the fastest and best horse in the Gros Ventre tribe. The name of the horse was

Crooked Leg. The father said to Pipe Child: "Give chase to the enemy, and when you overtake them ride right into their midst, get on the right-hand side of one of the enemy and spear him, and after you have done that wheel your horse around and come back to camp. Do not do anything else. Do not spare the horse; he is a good fast horse. Let him run for all he is worth." The man took quite a while to get Pipe Child ready. When Pipe Child was ready he rode off and rode as fast as he could. By the time he reached the battleground, a pitched battle was already under way. Pipe Child used his own judgment since there was only one single thing he had to do, to pick out one of the enemy worth attacking. So he saw one of the enemy mounted on an "uplouse" horse (white with black spots on the rump) with bloody withers. Pipe Child thought to himself: "This is one of the enemy who scalped the women alive." So Pipe Child made for him. He was a great warrior, one of the most prominent men of the enemy tribe. Pipe Child waited until this man was riding away from him. The boy then rode after him, got to the right side of him and when just opposite him speared him, piercing his body through and through. He couldn't pull the spear out, so he just left it in the man's body and wheeled his horse about and rode back to camp. His father was waiting for him and said to him: "Son, what did you do?" The boy replied: "I did just what you told me to do." Then he related all he had done. His father was glad.

By this time all the other Gros Ventre warriors had come back. They had killed many of the enemy and inflicted on them a crushing defeat. There was great rejoicing. They were singing all over the camp. Finally the celebration centered in front of the Feathered Pipe Keeper's lodge, for it was the custom to celebrate the victory in front of the lodge of the person who had done the greatest deed, and in that battle Pipe Child had performed the greatest feat. The people danced and sang and the father gave away all his belongings in honor of Pipe Child, his friends helping him to give the things away. At last he had nothing left but the Feathered Pipe and his own horse, Crooked Leg.

When the dancing was over, one old couple still remained around dancing and singing. They went toward the father's lodge, saying the name of Pipe Child and of his parents. When they got in front of the lodge, they stopped and sang and danced there, still saying the name of the boy and his father. Finally the father and his wife were moved and he said to her: "Invite them in." The old couple came in and the father said to them: "Why are you still celebrating and why do you come to my lodge?" The old man replied: "The reason is that I want your horse, Crooked Leg. I want you to give it to me. I am a poor man. It would do me a lot of service in my hunting and other work." The Keeper of the Feathered Pipe said to him: "That is easy. I thought you would ask something hard. If that is all you want, you shall have the horse." So the Keeper said to his wife: "Go out and unpicket Crooked Leg and give him to this old man." So the woman went out and unpicketed Crooked Leg and gave him to the old man. The old man and his wife had the more reason to celebrate, and they shouted 539 louder and louder and attracted the attention of the whole camp. Everybody 773 knew that the old man had gotten this great horse from the Keeper.

The Keeper had planted tobacco for that season. Without waiting for the customary harvesting of the tobacco, all the people took advantage of the occasion and raided the tobacco patch and the man couldn't say anything for his son had performed the greatest deed in battle. Such was the custom. That was the way renown was acquired, doing such things as that.

Pipe Child grew up and went on in his way. Whenever there was a battle or other event, he did like everyone else. Every time there was a battle he distinguished himself among the best of the warriors. He was brave, capable, and intelligent, and in a short time he acquired a place in the inside circle of the leading men. When Pipe Child observed this he said to his father: "You tell the people that when they go out for the buffalo hunt they should get a buffalo skin from around the forehead, and I will use that for my shield. Tell the people to get good elk skin. I am going to use that for my shield case. Then after they have gotten us these two skins, dry and prepare them. Then just the three of us, you, my mother and myself, will go apart secretly and cut ourselves off from the rest of the people. Then I will paint my shield. While I am painting my shield you will sing for me, singing the songs used in the Feathered Pipe rite."

So they got the two skins, prepared them in the ordinary way. The buffalo head skin was prepared stiff as rawhide; the elk skin was tanned soft and pliable. When everything was ready the father and mother and Pipe Child shut themselves in the Feathered Pipe lodge and started in, the father singing the Feathered Pipe songs while Pipe Child painted the shield. The round buffalo-head rawhide was covered with the elk skin, and it was the elk skin that was painted. A smudge was made and the paints used were fumigated in the smudge from time to time. The background of the shield was left in its natural color. Pipe Child, with black charcoal paint, painted on the shield in profile facing each other the two birds representing the Ruler of the Storm, Bha'a. Just above them he painted two zigzag lines nearly horizontal, crossing each other and pointing in opposite directions to represent the lightning. All this was painted in black with charcoal paint. Just above the lightning lines he tied to the shield a dead bird,—a small coal black bird (a little bigger than a swallow, with forked tail, white breast with a little yellow on the breast). Then he trimmed the periphery of the shield with eagle tail feathers attached all around at intervals but not touching one another. Then he put a thong on by which the shield could be suspended from his neck or elsewhere. All this is what came from Pipe Child's crying. He had waited all these years to prove himself worthy before making such a shield. Then Pipe Child said to his father and mother: "Now I am through. I have made my shield. Send for the crier and tell him to come over here."

When the crier got to the lodge Pipe Child said to him: "Go around the

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camp and tell the people: 'He-who-dreams-of-Bha'a has finished making his shield and is going to put it outside on a tripod. Fasten your lodges down solidly and gather wood and drive your horses to shelter and get ready for a storm." A good many of the people thought this ridiculous for it was about August, the hottest time of the year, the time when the berries and chokecherries were ripe, and the day was a hot sultry one with not a cloud in the sky and with no sign of a storm. A lot of the people had the lower parts of their lodges raised up to let in the breeze and were sitting inside in the shade. A good many of the people however got ready their tents as they were warned to do.

He-who-dreams-of-Bha'a, for Pipe Child had given himself that name and was henceforth to be known by it, took out his shield and got the tripod on which the Feathered Pipe hung and hung his shield thereon a good distance back of his father's lodge. Almost at once a speck of cloud appeared in the west. In no time it grew bigger and bigger. Very soon after there were signs of an approaching storm. The people hurried to get ready, but before they were ready the storm struck with a violent wind that blew over a number of the lodges. Rain poured in torrents and there was severe lightning as if just over head. So it stormed and stormed day and night for four nights. On the morning after the fourth night there was a deep snow. One of the Gros Ventre got up early that morning, looked toward the Feathered Pipe lodge and saw that there was no snow around the lodge for a good distance. And he said to the people: "Look over there. Not a flake has fallen in a circle a good distance around the Feathered Pipe lodge."

He-who-dreams-of-Bha'a always wore his shield when he went to battle. He also made four round wheels of willow, each wrapped around with buckskin and with little feathers on them. These he used to tie on his head, one on his forehead and the other three in the same row back to his occiput. He also wore as a cuff on his right wrist a tanned badger face with the mouth towards his hand. He said to the people: "Unless I am struck on the head within one of the four wheels I will not be hurt." He wore the badger face on his wrist because he was right-handed and used this right hand for everything and hence everything he did while wearing it would be supernaturally easy for him.

And so He-who-dreams enjoyed great reputation and became a renowned war chief while he was still young. He lived on and was getting to be a grown man. Many offers of marriage were made to him from other prominent families, but he always refused saying: "I am not ready yet to get married."

He-who-dreams had a specially good friend. There was a big battle and for some reason He-who-dreams was among the last to start out for it. When he arrived at the scene of battle the fighting was about over and the two contending parties were at a standstill. The Gros Ventre said to him: "You are late. The fighting is now practically over. Your friend got killed." He-who-dreams felt very bad and said: "Let me go fight

539 773 those who killed my friend." But his relatives would not let him go. They held his horse. They were afraid for him. They felt the odds were too great against him to go alone, great warrior though he was. So he couldn't get away and was angry. Then he jumped off his horse and jerked his shield off himself, bent it out of shape across his knee and threw it to the ground in anger. It rolled away and as it rolled the ground burned, so that a burnt trail was left.

Then He-who-dreams went back home and he felt bad. His friend had been killed. The enemy had departed. All the Gros Ventre came back and went to bed. That night he dreamed that he had done a wrong thing, that he had violated something great in the way he had treated his shield, that his career was threatened with coming to an end and that he was practically done for. When he woke up he felt bad and told his father and mother about his dream. They became worried over their son.

After a while He-who-dreams began to sicken; his skin turned black; he got thinner and thinner and he lost his good looks and appearance. His father got the best medicine men to doctor him paying them big fees. Finally He-who-dreams got so weak that he had to be raised from the bed. Then he said to his father: "It is of no use to doctor me as I cannot be cured. I am going to die unless just one thing can be done." The father was glad and said to him: "What is this thing?" The son replied: "Someone must cut my hair, cutting off a little bunch on my forehead, over each ear and straight back of the head, and then I will recover." So the father was glad and he tried to get someone to do the cutting this way. But one after another refused because the father and mother and boy were special persons and everybody was afraid. So nobody would do it. The boy's father and mother were desperate because it was not permitted by their belief for the father and mother to do it for their own son and they couldn't get anybody else to do it.

After this He-who-dreams was bedridden and finally dying. He said: "I am going to die but not right away. There are four things inside my body. When they have come out I am going to die. Do not worry. Do not mourn for me. Do not shed a tear. For if certain things are done I will come back to life again. The four things inside me are: a small petrified animal with four legs (about as long as a middle finger, a thunder stone), which will come out first; a sucker; a water snake; a bird, the one I have sewed on my shield. After all four are out I shall die." Then all these four things came out: first, the thunder stone; then the fish came out alive, wriggled and died; then the water snake wriggled around a while and died; last the little bird looked out of his mouth and made a squeaking noise and died; and at this moment He-who-dreams breathed his last.

Before he died He-who-dreams had given instructions to his father and mother what to do after he died: "Leave the lodge where it is facing to the south. Lay my body on the Feathered Pipe bed with my head towards the east, the rising sun. Cover me up as if I were asleep. Fill a black pipe (but

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not the Feathered Pipe) and lay it alongside of the incense hearth with the stem to the east and the bowl to the west. Close the lodge tight, including the top-opening and the ears. You two and everyone else move away out of sight of the Feathered Pipe lodge and when you get to the new camp ground go through the smudging, smoking and singing rite gone through when I made my shield. I have one doubt, because my father, the Ruler of the Storm, will be gone. (It was the fall of the year with the leaves and the birds gone and past the season for thunderstorms.) But do not lose courage. Do what I tell you. For four nights no one shall come to look in where my body is lying. On the morning after the fourth night come. If you do all the things I tell you to do and if you hear a rumble a long ways off, this is a sign that I will come back alive again."

The father and mother did as their son had told them. They shed no tears, carried out no mourning and kept their heads and followed his other instructions. Everyone moved away from the Feathered Pipe lodge. When they reached the new camp site it was late in the evening. The father started at once to sing, smoke, and make a smudge. Just before sundown he heard thunder rumbling somewhere. He grunted the grunt of gladness: "Now my boy will come back." By nightfall the sky was overcast with clouds all over, rain came, and with it thunder and lightning as if just overhead and especially in the direction where the tent with the body of the dead son lay. The storm kept up as long as they stayed awake. The next day it continued, with thunder and lightning the whole day long and into the second night so long as they stayed awake. On the third morning the storm was still on and lasted through the day and the third night. But a little after noon on the third day the sun appeared. The storm had spent itself and there was still some dripping, but it was no longer raging.

He-who-dreams had a married brother. The brother knew the orders that had been left by He-who-dreams but he was jealous of him, even to the point of stealing his wife (paramour?). So the brother got on his horse to go over to where the dead body was lying although he was not supposed to do so. When he came in sight of the Feathered Pipe lodge, from afar he saw a man standing in front of it. After taking a good look and surmising it was his brother he wheeled his horse and rode fast back to his father's camp and told his father what he had seen and done. His father rebuked him: "You should not have done this. You have killed my son, your brother."

Then a lot of people went over to look. When they reached the lodge they found the lodge door open and there lying just over the threshold with his head inside He-who-dreams, stripped except for his breech-cloth, dead. He had come to life again but because his brother had looked before it was time, he had died again. The people looked all around the lodge and they found due east from the head of He-who-dreams a spot where the grass was trampled and where lightning had struck and had run in a crooked line toward where the dead man's head was. Due south they found another like spot with a crooked chain leading toward his side. Due west a like spot and

539 773 a chain leading toward his feet and due north another similar spot and a chain leading toward his side. The Gros Ventre always believed that the Ruler of the Storm had doctored (revived?) him and that if it had not been for what his brother had done, He-who-dreams would have come back to life as he had said. This is the only story the Gros Ventre know in which somebody who was dead came back to life. He-who-dreams was a truly great man.

(All the above happened in recent times since the Gros Ventre came to this part of the country which was previously Snake Indian country, the Snakes using rocks for pickets instead of sticks. Since that time which was, however, before the white people appeared, the Gros Ventre have believed that the Feathered Pipe was given them from above by the Bha'a because everything narrated in the preceding story happened before their very eyes.)

8. Loss and Recovery of the Flat Pipe[18]

The Gros Ventre went on and lived around this country, fighting with all the surrounding tribes, especially the Sioux and the Assiniboine. On one occasion they were camped on the White River (which empties into the Missouri R. from the south), south of the Missouri R. from the end of Bear Paw Mountains. All at once they were attacked by a great body of Sioux, Assiniboine and Cree from the east, who were determined to exterminate the Gros Ventre. The Gros Ventre were hopelessly outnumbered. A great battle was fought. For once the Gros Ventre lost the battle and with it the Flat Pipe. The Flat Pipe was captured by these enemies who took it away with them. It was the Assiniboine who had captured the Pipe. The Assiniboine who had captured the Pipe was an outstanding respectable and very wise man. He did not molest the bundle, but kept it in a prominent place in his lodge and treated it with respect. During the early part of the winter following the capture he had a dream one night. In the dream he heard the Flat Pipe talking to him and telling him it wanted to go back to its father and mother, and telling the man to bring the Pipe back to the Gros Ventre. The man paid no attention to the dream. He told nobody. He thought it was just a dream and nothing more. After a while he had another dream in which the Flat Pipe said to him: "Bring me back to my father and mother. If you do not, some grave evil will happen to your tribe,—famine, suffering, a great calamity." Still the man told nobody. In the dead of winter it kept snowing and snowing. The snow got so deep that no one could travel around in it. The people were without food and were suffering. The man had a dream again in which the Flat Pipe said to him: "If you do not bring me back to my father and mother (the Keepers) I will wipe you off the face of the earth."

Now the Assiniboine man was really alarmed. The next morning he invited all the principal Indians to his lodge to tell them about his dreams.

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[18] Cf. passing reference to the incident in Kroeber, 1908, p. 274.

His wife cooked food for them and after they had eaten and smoked, he told them about his dreams. They discussed the matter and decided that the pipe might be the cause of their suffering. It was still snowing and they could not travel. They decided that it was best to return the Flat Pipe to the Gros Ventre although they were at war with them. They felt that the Flat Pipe must be powerful otherwise it could not cause such hard times. So they told the Flat Pipe: "We are going to bring you back to your father and mother, your Keepers, so soon as the grass grows in the spring." The meeting broke up, and they all went away.

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The following night the same Assiniboine man had a fourth dream in which the Flat Pipe told him: "I am glad I am going back home. The threat I made will be withdrawn for you have granted my request. Go to the top of the hills from where you are camped, and you will find four buffalo there and they will be easy to get. In three nights from the time you get them, I will send you warm winds to melt the snow so that you can get around and will not suffer so much."

The next morning the man told the people about his fourth dream. He told them he thought that the best way to get the four buffalo was to send two good men out to scout for them and to come back and report. The two men went out and came back and reported: "There are four buffalo there, a little way off." But the snow was deep and it was hard to get around, so they decided to send out enough good hunters to surround the buffalo so that whichever way the buffalo ran, they would run into armed hunters. And so they got all four buffalo and had fresh meat to eat. After three days the warm winds came and the snow left the ground. And there were plenty of other buffalo killed. Soon the people were strong again. The grass came up a little later. It was an unusually early season.

So the Assiniboine got ready and started for the Gros Ventre country. The Assinoboine man who had captured the Flat Pipe took the lead, carrying the Flat Pipe on his back. The Assiniboine found the Gros Ventre somewhere around where the latter now are. When the Gros Ventre saw the Assiniboine coming they made ready for battle, but seeing the bundle on the Assiniboine man's back, they just surrounded him without attacking. The Gros Ventre made peace with the Assiniboine on the spot. The most remarkable thing was that this peace was a lasting one, the Gros Ventre and Assiniboine never fought one another again. All this happened a long time ago and peace has lasted down to the present day. The country of the Assiniboine is to the east of the present Gros Ventre country. They have no real right here where the Gros Ventre are, but are allowed to remain here because of their returning the Flat Pipe to the Gros Ventre. The Assiniboine used to be poor, ragged, leading a miserable life with no horses and besides they had no morals and had evil ways. But the Gros Ventre saved them from the condition they were in, gave them horses and other things and made them what they are, bringing them out of their low moral condition. All this was done on account of their bringing back the Flat Pipe.

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9. Man Escapes From a Cannibal Dwarf

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One day a man was out hunting. He spied a dwarf first. So he hid as best he could and hoped to escape the notice of the dwarf. The dwarf came to where the man was hiding and discovered him. The man played dead. The dwarf was undecided what to do. "I wonder," he thought, "what has happened to this man. I wonder if he is dead." So he walked up close to the man, examined him, and concluded he was dead. Said the dwarf to himself: "I'll bring his body home and eat it."

So the dwarf put the body on his back and went off. On the way the man was trying to think up some way of escaping. From time to time the dwarf's trail led through brush. The man knew that the dwarf was not very intelligent, so took a chance and his one arm being free, with his fist he hit the dwarf in the face, hoping the dwarf would think himself hit by the brush. This the man did every time the trail led through the brush, until the dwarf became much annoyed. So the dwarf put the man down saying: "I'll break his arm. It swings and hits me catching in the brush." So the dwarf stopped and pulled on the arm. The man let his arm bend and the dwarf thought he had broken it.

The dwarf then packed the man on his shoulders and went on again. The man kept hitting the dwarf in the face as before, until soon the dwarf's eyes were closed and he could not see. So the dwarf decided to cache his load. He laid the man on top of a stump and made for home. As soon as the dwarf was out of sight, the man jumped off the stump and made his escape.

When the dwarf reached home, he said to his children: "My children, I have very good food. I cached a man back yonder. Go fetch him and we'll eat him." The children were glad and got ready. "Wait," said the father, "I'll go with you and show you the spot. We're so glad to have something to eat, we'll dance all the way over." So they danced all the way to the stump. When they got to it, there was nothing there. The dwarf was puzzled, for he thought the man was dead. They examined the stump and looked all around it. On the stump they saw some fluid (probably sap), and concluded that the man had just rotted away. So they all went back home empty-handed.

10. Found-in-the-Grass[14]

In the long ago the Gros Ventres lived in a land of many mysterious and terrible dangers. They lived in villages separated by great distances, and it

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[14] This tale seems to be the most complete of any told by The Boy, probably because it was told at leisure, translated and written out by Tom Main and sent to us by mail. The first part corresponds with Kroeber, 1907, pp. 77-82, No. 19, but in our version The Boy goes on to add a number of incidents which are attributed by Kroeber's informant, Flea, to Blood-Clot (pp. 82-90, No. 20). Both of Kroeber's informants, Flea (for No. 20) and Paul Plummage (for No. 19) were of the same generations as The Boy, though of course they were young men when they gave their versions.

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was dangerous for anyone to venture out of any of the villages to get food or wood, to hunt, and especially to visit from one village to another.

During this period, there lived a Gros Ventre man and his wife who had no children. This man was a great hunter and good provider. Because he was a hunter, he was absent from his village most of the time. On one of these hunting expeditions, he was camped in a most dangerous part of the country, but game was abundant. At the time of this particular hunt, his wife was pregnant, and he took special care of her for their joy was great that now they were going to have a child. He hunted every day and sometimes was gone several days from his camp while his wife stayed alone. He cautioned and advised his wife very earnestly: "Do not answer any calls, or voices, or knocks on the lodge, even if they are cries for help, nor under any circumstances, while I am absent from home."

One day he told his wife. "I am going away to hunt in the most dangerous part of the land, but where furbearing animals are abundant. Winter is approaching and we need warm clothing for ourselves and our expected child. I shall be gone a long time. There are dangers. Remain inside of the lodge and be absolutely quiet if you hear any voices or calls, whether they be from humans or animals. If only you carry out my instructions, if you close the lodge and make it appear as if no one is at home and stay inside and be perfectly silent when you hear voices of any kind, nothing will harm or molest you".

So he got ready all the things needed for this his greatest hunt and went to the land of the furbearing animals. As soon as he was out of sight his wife immediately proceeded to fix the lodge and camp for a long siege and as she went inside she fixed the door so it would appear that no one was home.

As she sat at work on some handiwork, she heard a moaning cry for help of some one in great distress. It seemed to her that it was from a human being, but she was not sure, and she immediately put away her work and sat perfectly still. As she sat listening, the cry for help was repeated and this time it was closer to the camp. She suddenly felt a great urge to go outside and see who was in such distress and offer her help, but remembering what her husband had said about remaining inside the lodge and being perfectly silent she gave up the idea and sat and listened.

As the cry for help came ever closer to the lodge she was positive now that it was that of a human being hopelessly lost. She sat perfectly still and made up her mind that in the event that this person forced his way into the lodge and tried to harm or molest her she would struggle, fight, and defend herself even if it cost her her life. By this time the person who was lost and crying for help, stumbled onto her lodge and was groping around it as if trying to find the door. The intruder went around the lodge several times, and on each round he made he hesitated at the door and could be heard as if fumbling with it.

Finally the woman, notwithstanding her husband's command and the fact that she was alone and not in a physically fit condition to defend herself,

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out of compassion and pity for the one in great distress, threw all caution aside and spoke to this person, and directed him where the door could be found. She heard the person cry out for joy when invited by her from inside the lodge. The person removed the barriers that she had placed at the door to make it secure from intrusion, and came in the lodge.

She looked at the person as he straightened up, and saw that he was a blind and very old man. She led him to the place of honor to sit, this being the spot straight opposite the door. The blind man spoke to her kindly, and thanked her for having admitted him into her lodge. All her fears were removed as she thought that even in her condition she could handle this blind old man. Besides he seemed very kind and probably would not try to harm or molest her.

According to the custom of the Gros Ventres at that time, she immediately prepared food for him as he was very hungry and on the verge of starvation, having wandered around for a long time.

When the food was ready to be served, she put it on one of her best bowls and placed it in front of him and told him to eat it. She thought it would be wise to treat him as nicely as possible, even if he was a blind old man, because in those times no one could tell who possessed great power. The old man felt for his food and when he found that it was in this bowl, he said: "This is not the kind of bowl that I eat my food out of."

The woman now sensed that the old man was no ordinary person, so did not question his complaint, but proceeded to put the food in another bowl that she rarely used, and again placed it in front of him. He felt the bowl and said; "This is not the kind yet."

The woman then put the food in her most precious bowl made of shell. But still the old man would not eat the food, saying: "Until the food is placed on the right thing, I cannot eat it."

Then the woman in desperation wondered what she should do. So she took off one of her moccasins and put the food on it, and the old man said: "You are nearer the thing to put the food on than ever, but not yet." So being encouraged she took off one of her leggings, and placed the food on it, then gave it to the old man, but he still refused to eat saying: "You are closer than ever to placing the food on the thing that I use for a bowl."

She then took off her dress and laid it in front of the old man and put the food on it. The old man felt for his meal, and found what it was placed on and told the woman: "I am sure you will comply with my custom." He pushed the dress away with the food on it saying: "If you will only try once more to put my food on the thing that I use for a bowl, I am sure you will succeed."

So the woman pondered a long moment reviewing everything she had tried to do to please the old man. She came to the conclusion that there was one more thing she could do to please him and that was for her to place the food on her body. She then laid down on her back and placed the food he was to eat on her stomach and told him to eat. The old man exclaimed in

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a loud voice: "You have guessed what I use for a bowl, when I eat my food." The old man used his big knife to cut up the meat that was given him and she could see him slashing away.

When the old man had finished eating he told her: "Lie still a moment while I pronounce a prophecy. You are a great, courageous, and wise woman. Your renown will be heard by posterity for all time. Your descendants are destined to be among the greatest of men. Now that you have done all things well I will proceed to carry out my part in the events to come, according to my prophecy."

The woman being nude, the old man took his knife and slashed her abdomen open and felt for her womb. Finding it he found twin boys in it. He took hold of one of them and said to him: "Your name shall be Twin," and threw him to one side of the door. Then taking the other one, he said: "Your name shall be Guyahnöö," and threw him to the other side of the door.

The old man after having done this terrible job, wiped his big knife and went his way, leaving the woman lying dead.

The husband of the woman after a long but successful hunt arrived loaded down with the skins and pelts of furbearing animals. He had some on his back, and a great many on a kind of sleigh which he pulled by hand. He stopped at the door of his lodge, having a premonition that all was not well, as he had seen no sign of his wife when he came in sight, and had heard no noise inside the lodge. Having relieved himself of his great load, he called out to his wife: "Come out and see the great number of fur skins which I have brought for ourselves and our expected child."

Hearing no response, a great fear came over him. However, hoping for the best, he entered the lodge. The sight that met his eyes was not what he had expected. Everything was in utter confusion, and worst of all, his wife lay dead, slashed wide open, and nude.

His sorrow was great, and thoughts raced through his mind reviewing the events which had led up to the death of his wife. He upbraided himself for being so selfish in his desire for hunting, which had caused him to come to the most wild and dangerous regions. And now he was all alone.

Collecting himself, he tenderly lifted the body of his wife and laid it on a bed of robes and furs, the best and most rare of the land. He rearranged everything in the lodge the best he could and sat down to think things out, and try to find a way out of the situation.

After having sat a long time in deep and serious thought, he decided to remain in the same place for an indefinite time in the hope that he might avenge the brutal and shameful killing of his beloved wife. So it was his wont to go out every morning away from the lodge and cry all day long, always on the alert for some human being or animal to come within range so that he could inquire of them who it was that had killed his wife. He came back to the lodge at every sundown, and spent the night there. As time went on, this became a fixed routine which he followed every day.

One evening as he came home after having cried all day some distance

539 773 from the lodge, he found that some of his arrows and other things were scattered around. Not giving this any serious thought, he put things back into place. This happened several times and he began to wonder who or what was taking his things, and leaving them lying around that way. He then decided to match wits with whatever was bothering his lodge and see if he could catch the one.

One day as he stepped out of his lodge he began to cry, and when he got a little way, he cupped his hands over his mouth to make his crying sound as if he were far away. Then he rushed back inside the lodge in time to see two small boys just starting to play with his arrows and things. The boys taken by surprise stood still a moment, but as he reached to get hold of them, they dashed toward the door, and one disappeared at the bottom of the pole on one side of the door and the other at the pole on the other side of the door.

He stood there very much bewildered, but he at least found out who it was that was taking his things, and he determined to catch the boys in one way or another.

The next day he did as he had done before. He cupped his hands over his mouth when he cried, and remained very close to the lodge. In a little while he heard one boy tell the other: "Our father is far away. Come out of your hiding place so that we may play."

The man made his crying as if he were far away and finally stopped, and tiptoed back to the lodge, and rushed in. This time he succeeded in catching hold of one of the boys, who fought desperately to get away, but he held him fast. The boy finally submitted to his kindness, and agreed to stay and live with him, promising not to disappear under the pole again.

After a while when he saw that the boy was used to him, he got him to promise to trick the other boy out of his hiding place so that he might also catch him. The boy agreed and the next day the man went on with his crying as usual and cupped his hands over his mouth to sound like he was far away. He gradually stopped crying and he could hear the boy he had caught coaxing the other boy out from his hiding place, but the boy in hiding refused to come out saying to his brother: "Since my father has handled you, you smell bad." But he kept on coaxing him until he finally came out, and they had just started to play when their father rushed in and caught him holding him fast till he ceased to struggle and promised to live on top of the ground with his father and twin brother.

The father was glad that now he had company, and that the twin boys were his own, they ~~having~~ told him so. He remained in the same place hoping that in some way the one who killed his wife would show up so that he could get revenge.

He made bows and arrows for each of his boys and told them: "When you shoot at anything do not pick up the arrows again. I will always make you new ones." He allowed them only two arrows each. The boys grew up rapidly, and they were very skillful with the bow and arrow.

One day the boys told their father: "Make a sweat-lodge. Face it toward the east, and leave a little opening at the top. Dig a little pit directly in front of the sweat lodge, and gather some stones to heat them there. Then dig another small pit inside the lodge exactly in the center of it. After having heated the stones, cover the sweat-lodge and carry the body of your wife and lay it down with the head to the north, on the west side of the lodge." 539 773

The man hastily did all these things and when he had done everything as told, he announced to his boys: "Everything is ready." They came each carrying the bow and arrow that he had made for them. The boys told their father: "Transfer the stones from the pit outside to the one inside the lodge and leave the flap open while we pray." He did as told, and the boys standing one on each side of the door of the lodge facing east, raised up their eyes toward the sky, and in a loud voice invited the Supreme Being to come and join in the sweating ceremony, so that what they wanted to do might be successful.

After having prayed, they told their father: "Pour water on the hot stones and close the lodge."

Then after this one of the boys took one of his arrows, and shot it straight up in the air, at the same time saying: "Look out, my mother, the arrow is coming down and it might fall on and hurt you if you do not move."

The boys then told their father: "Open the sweat-lodge, and pour more water on the stones, and then close it again." After the lodge was closed the boy shot his other arrow up in the air repeating the words he said when he shot his first arrow, and this time, they all saw the lodge moving.

Again the father was told: "Open the lodge and pour more water on the stones then after having done so, close it."

The other boy then shot one of his arrows in the air saying the same words that his brother had said, and this time, the lodge shook violently.

The fourth and last time the lodge was opened by the father, and more water was poured on the stones and the lodge was closed again. The boy shot his second arrow in the air saying the same words as before, and as the arrow hit the ground very near the lodge, their mother rushed out alive from the west side of the lodge and came to her husband and the twin boys greeting them.

Now they were all together and happy, and they continued to stay where they were, while the father went on with his hunting.

One day while their father was out on a hunt, the boys wandered away from the lodge to try their skill with the bow and arrow. They saw a prairie chicken, and they shot at it missing all of their shots. The chicken would not fly away and one of the boys in his eagerness to shoot again, ran to pick up one of the arrows which they had already shot, for the time being forgetting the rule laid down by their father not to pick an arrow up again, and before his brother could stop him he shot at the chicken again. Immediately there arose a mighty wind, and the boys, frightened, rushed back to the lodge for shelter. One boy succeeded in getting inside, but the other boy was blown up in the air with the door of the lodge held fast in his hands.

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He blew around in the sky for a long time, and finally came back to earth and landed in a spot thick with tall grass. Not knowing what else to do he settled down in the grass, and covered himself with the door flap of the lodge, which he still had in his hands. He laid there many days not daring to venture around, for he was in a strange land.

One day as he lay in the grass languishing he heard voices coming in his direction. He crouched down motionless and listened. He now heard talking and it was Gros Ventre. These people were from a big village which was nearby, and they were out cutting grass for their horses. An old woman came nearer and nearer to where he was lying, finally finding him. She was very glad to have found a boy and talked most kindly to him, and invited him to live in her lodge saying: "I will adopt you and be your grandmother."

So the boy went along with the old woman to the village and lived there with her.

He eventually grew up to young manhood amidst many hardships and dangers, for the Gros Ventres in this village were poor due to the many dangers which existed and which prevented them from hunting at will and from moving around to follow the game.

It came to pass that a beautiful black fox was frequently seen near and around the village. Since its appearance, the people began to miss their hard-earned meat and other things such as raw hides, ropes, and sinew with which their travois were bound together.

The people tried in every way to catch the black fox, setting out snares and traps, but the fox was too cunning for them.

The fox stole meat and chewed up rawhide and sinew to such an extent, that he was a real menace to them and to everything that was left outside for the night. It even went inside the lodges and stole meat.

Finally the chief of the tribe called one of the criers of the village, and told him: "Announce to the people that I am offering a great reward for the man who will catch the fox. The reward is my oldest daughter." She was the most beautiful girl in the village. "Whoever catches and kills the fox is to bring it to my lodge immediately, and on the spot he will take my daughter and have her for a wife."

Most all the young men began trying to catch the fox, but failed.

After a time, the boy who was found in the grass told his grandmother he wished to try for the reward, telling her: "Make a trap as I shall direct."

The old woman, being much attached to the boy, did not raise any question, but proceeded to make a trap according to his instructions. When she finished it, he told her: "Set it just outside the door of our lodge." She did as told and went to sleep for the night.

The boy, who was now a young man, remained awake most of the night, and went to see the trap a number of times. Toward daylight, he became sleepy and lay down to sleep until his grandmother woke him, saying: "The trap is sprung, but there is no fox in it."

He went out, and examined the trap closely, and found some black hair stuck onto it in places. He told his grandmother: "I am sure I caught the fox in my trap, but it must have been stolen by someone while we slept." The old woman shared his opinion, and they discussed it for some time.

The young man at length told his grandmother: "Go to the chief's lodge, and inquire whether or not anyone has brought the fox."

His grandmother agreed, and upon inquiry was told: "Crow [a bird] brought the fox at daylight, and he claimed the reward, and was given the chief's oldest daughter."

The old woman returned, and told her grandson all about this. After some thought he sent her back to the chief telling her to insist and demand that rightfully the reward was his, as he was positive now that he had trapped the fox, but that it had been stolen by Crow. Then the old woman went back to the chief's lodge, and told him what her grandson had said.

The chief believed the old woman and her grandson, and said: "Since Crow has already taken my oldest daughter and has her in his lodge, I cannot take her back. But I am willing to let the young man have my second oldest daughter. She is beautiful like her sister and is old enough to be married."

The old woman once more returned to her own lodge, and told her grandson what the chief had said. The young man considered it at some length and asked his grandmother's advice. She advised him to take the second reward and told him that in order to keep peace it would be well to do so.

The young man agreed and they got ready to receive the chief's second daughter and the old woman went after her and brought her to her lodge. So the matter of rewarding the one that killed the fox was settled.

It came to pass that all the members of the tribe were out of meat and other food and were on the verge of starvation on account of the dangers that existed which kept the people from hunting freely. The chief, fearing that his tribe would starve, sent his wife, the mother of the wife of Crow, to tell him to go out and stalk and run buffalo into the buffalo run so that the people could have meat to eat.

The wife of the chief did as told, and Crow sent word back by her for the chief to announce to the people: "I am going out at daybreak to run buffalo." The people hearing this announced by the crier were glad and made ready to help Crow run buffalo, and various ones were detailed by the chief to sit at each mound and scare the game into the buffalo run.

At daylight, those who were detailed sat at the mounds. They sat there all day and when it was evening, they went back home, and heard that Crow had not succeeded in driving the buffalo into the run. The people were very much disappointed, and Crow said: "I will try again next day," but he failed the same as he had done the first day.

All this time the young man, who was married to the second daughter of the chief, was not heard of, and he was very ugly and unkempt. But since Crow had failed to run the buffalo and had given up, the young man sent

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his grandmother to the chief for him to detail men to sit at the mounds while he would run the buffalo. The old woman did as told, and the chief complied with the order and sent men to the mounds.

The young man struck out at daylight to run the buffalo and when he got away out from the village and in line with the buffalo run and the mounds, he gathered together some buffalo chips and said to them: "You turn into live buffalo and go into the runs so that my people may eat," and immediately the chips became buffalo. Then plucking a certain kind of grass he said to it: "You turn into a live but mangy and poor buffalo and join in the run and when you get to the pitfall you manage so that one of your hind legs gets caught in the corral." And the grass became a live but mangy buffalo and joined in the run.

The young man after having started the buffalo into the run between the mounds, followed behind. When he arrived at the pitfall and corral, he found that the hunt was very successful and that the people were busy skinning the animals and were happy but were inquiring among themselves who it was that had run the buffalo in.

The young man stood listening to them and after a while told them that it was he who had done it, and that henceforth they were to call him Found-in-the-Grass.

After the people were all through, he went after his grandmother to come and get some of the meat. When she arrived at the pitfall, he told her to look for a buffalo caught on the corral. The old woman looking around, saw an old and mangy bull and remarked that it was very poor. Found-in-the-Grass loosened the bull and gave it a good kick on the rump and immediately it became a fat buffalo in its prime. They both skinned the bull and cut up the meat in pieces so that it could be brought to their lodge easily.

Found-in-the-Grass sought out a certain intestine and filled it with the blood of the bull, tying both ends securely so that the blood would not spill. Then he fixed the intestine with thongs ready to pack. He and his grandmother then packed the meat to their lodge, but he forbade his wife to help, telling her: "On the last trip you are to help carry the intestine fillled with blood and the three of us are to walk in single file, my grandmother first, you next, and I last."

While they were packing the meat home the wife waited at the pitfall as she had been told, and as she turned around she saw Crow perched on the corral, and she noticed her sister, the wife of Crow, struggling with many heads of buffalo and putting them in a pile. She asked her sister the meaning of this and was told: "Since Crow is a scavenger and is not particular what he eats and since the people no longer have respect for him as having failed to run the buffalo, I am giving him only the heads as his share."

Found-in-the-Grass and his grandmother came back to the pitfall and were getting ready for the last trip when his wife remarked about Crow's share of the hunt. Crow, hearing this, was very angry and flew around up in the air scolding his tormentors, and his wife was very much ashamed.

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Found-in-the-Grass and his grandmother and his wife stood in single file ready to go, and his wife took up the intestine and loaded it on her back as he had told her. Crow and his wife watched in admiration as the party went on the march. They were still watching and saw Found-in-the-Grass punch a hole in the intestine with an arrow and the blood spilled all out and over his wife and she immediately became most beautiful and fully matured.

The wife of Crow became very jealous over the good fortune of her sister, and also very sad because of the way in which she had become the wife of Crow.

Every family of the entire village had all the meat they wanted, and was happy that now they were saved from starvation, and the women were busy slicing and jerking the meat. This required many days to do, as the run and hunt was the greatest ever known to the Gros Ventres.

During this time the wife of Found-in-the-Grass confided to her mother that sometimes her husband was most handsome and smelled like the rarest of perfumes. She was very much worried about this, as just when she was about to get a hold of her handsome husband, he would turn to the same ugly and unkempt man that he always was. The mother advised her daughter: "Say nothing of this to anyone, but have confidence in your husband. He has just managed the greatest hunt and run ever known. All will be well if only you have perseverance."

The mother of the wife of Crow overheard this conversation and told her daughter about it, and it was soon known by all the people in the village. One day the wife of Found-in-the-Grass was visiting her sister, and the conversation soon turned to Found-in-the-Grass, how he would turn into a most handsome man, but when the sun rose again, he would still be the ugly and unkempt man he always was. The wife of Crow doubted this, saying: "My sister is very young. Maybe she had a nightmare or imagined it." So saying she got up and went to the lodge of her brother-in-law to see for herself.

She arrived there and finding Found-in-the-Grass to be the same ugly and unkempt man, she proceeded to call him all kinds of names and to make fun of him. After having shown all her scorn, she added: "It is most shameful of you to fool my young and innocent sister and for that matter all the rest of the people. It is a shame to acquire cheap notoriety and renown. But you will never succeed as you are not powerful enough to do it." Found-in-the-Grass said nothing, but bore all this tongue lashing from his sister-in-law.

The wife of Crow went back to her lodge and finding her sister still there, advised her: "Leave and separate from your husband, as there is nothing to all this talk about him being a most handsome man at times. In the event he is successful in his attempt to be powerful, in all probability he will be an evil one and will perhaps try to destroy the whole Gros Ventre tribe." But the wife of Found-in-the-Grass went back to her husband and resolved to stay with him, no matter what the cost or how ugly he was and notwithstanding her sister's advice to leave him.

539 773 At this time the meat was all being jerked and was partly dry, and Found-in-the-Grass sent his wife to her father, the chief, to tell him to detail men to sit at the mounds and help him run the buffalo again the next day. The chief when told this by his daughter was glad and proceeded to place men at the mounds to run the buffalo. Found-in-the-Grass did as before, going out at daybreak and gathering buffalo chips and commanding them to turn into buffalo and also the certain kind of grass to turn into a mangy and poor buffalo and join in the run. As at the first run he followed the buffalo and arrived at the pitfall finding the people busy skinning the animals. And as before he called his grandmother to come and help him to skin the mangy buffalo caught in the corral by a hind leg. And as before, he sought out the certain intestine and filled it with blood and fixed it up to pack.

Crow and his wife were gathering the heads together as before, and as his wife looked with contempt on her brother-in-law, the latter suddenly turned into the most handsome man she ever saw. Then and there she made up her mind to woo him away from her sister and to have him for her husband.

By this time Found-in-the-Grass and his grandmother and wife were getting ready to make the last trip packing meat to his lodge and were forming in single file. Not being able to stand it any longer, the older sister rushed to his side and implored him to allow her to pack the intestine filled with blood instead of her sister, so that she too would become most beautiful when the blood spilled out over her as he punched it with his arrow. Found-in-the-Grass granted her request and ordered her to get in line, behind her sister, and loaded the intestine on her back. After they had gone a little way, he punched the intestine and the blood spilled out all over his sister-in-law, but instead of her becoming beautiful as she had expected, she became most ugly and loathsome and was horrible to look at.

When she fully recovered from what had happened to her, she was most ashamed and did not know what to do. She appealed to her husband Crow for him to show his power, but all in vain for he had no power, but was instead hopping around picking up scraps of meat and blood and paid no attention to his wife. Found-in-the-Grass then told his sister-in-law: "Go your way and out of sight, and mind your own business hereafter."

So it was that Found-in-the-Grass came to the rescue of the desperate situation that this village of Gros Ventres was in and in fact saved them from extermination as now there was no immediate need to hunt or run the buffalo as they were supplied with a great quantity of meat, sinew, bones, and other things needed, and the people were most happy.

After a time Found-in-the-Grass told his wife and grandmother: "I am going visiting at the next village of Gros Ventres." The grandmother was worried and told him: "It is most dangerous for any one to visit or be out alone, as between the two villages and on the only trail which must be followed, there is a big and powerful wolf that no one can escape once the wolf sees him. The wolf once it sights anyone opens his powerful jaws and draws him into his open mouth with a mysterious power the person is unable

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to get away from, and swallows him up. Besides, in the event that the person escapes from the big wolf and arrives at the next village, there is there a man, whom every stranger is forced to listen to telling myths and when he falls asleep listening to him, this man puts a flat stone under his head and hits him on the head with a stone hammer, killing him. Therefore you must not leave this village, as you are now married, and besides, you should have no further ambition, as you are now the most renowned one of the entire village. Then too, I am greatly attached to you, having reared you up from childhood since the time I found you in the grass."

Found-in-the-Grass gently told his wife and grandmother: "Calm down and do not worry about me. I am now a full grown man and am not afraid of anything. I am determined to make this visit in spite of the dangers you tell about."

So, unable to discourage him, the women made much pemmican and fat for him to take along and eat on the way as the village was very far away and it took many days to reach it. So everything being ready for his use, weapons, food, clothing,—Found-in-the-Grass struck out on his visit to the next village.

After he was gone many days from his village, he came to a rise of ground and in a clearing in the trail, he saw a great wolf, and remembering what his grandmother had said about the wolf, he cautiously approached, and when the wolf saw him, he opened his jaws and big mouth and at that instant Found-in-the-Grass felt the power of the wolf and was [illegible] his mouth and swallowed up. But he had prepared for [illegible] he found himself in the stomach of the wolf, he [illegible], and soon the wolf fell down dead. Found-in-[illegible]med and upon examination found many huma[illegible] the wolf. He took all the bones out and put them [illegible] them: "Get up, you weaklings, and go back to the villag[illegible]hich you came," and immediately several persons appeared whole and alive, and each went his way.

Found-in-the-Grass continued on his way and after a time came in sight of a large village of Gros Ventres. He circled the camp several times and finally decided to enter an old woman's lodge. She welcomed him and invited him to sit in the place of honor, also telling him that she had heard of his fame and she called him by name and seemed to know all about him.

He told her: "I have come a long way and have run out of food. I am very hungry. Give me something to eat."

She told him: "I am glad that you have escaped the big wolf on the trail. But it is not safe for strangers to be in the village as there is a man here who forces them to listen to him tell myths, and when they fall asleep he kills them with his stone hammer. Besides, the people in this village are very poor and do not have much to eat, as it is most dangerous to leave the village and hunt on account of the many dangers which exist here." And she urged him to leave and go his way after she fed him her only piece of meat, which she took out from under her bed and cooked for him.

He told the old woman: "Do not worry about me. I am a man and can 539 take care of myself at all times." He ate only a small portion of the meat 773 given him and told the old woman to eat the rest of it.

Soon the sun went down and night came on, and as was expected, the man who told myths by night invited Found-in-the-Grass: "Come to my lodge. I will tell you myths and put you to sleep. You have come a long way and must be tired out." After the man had the crier make his invitation several times, Found-in-the-Grass went to his lodge, and was invited to sit in the place of honor, and the man began to tell him myths. The man told him myths far into the night and several times asked him: "Are you sleepy?" "I am," he said, "but I am trying to remain awake, as the myths are very interesting."

The man told him: "Go to sleep whenever you wish. I shall tell myths until you go to sleep. Then I will put you to bed and cover you with robes so you will not be cold."

Found-in-the-Grass pretended to be very sleepy, closing his eyes, but watched the man through slits to see what he was going to do. After a time, he pretended to be sleeping and snoring. The man touched him to make sure, and then got his flat stone putting it under his head, and was just taking hold of the stone hammer, when Found-in-the-Grass suddenly jumped up and asked the man: "What are you doing?" The man, taken completely by surprise, lost his balance and before he could regain it, Found-in-the-Grass shot him full of arrows and killed him.

Then he looked around in the lodge and noticed a pile of something covered with robes. Throwing them back he discovered that the pile was a mass of human bones, some of them old and bleached and others not so old but showing that it was of ones recently killed by the man.

Found-in-the-Grass had great compassion on the ones whose bones lay there and thought how unfortunate they had been to be forced to listen to the man who told myths and falling asleep to be killed by him. He then spoke thus: "Get up and come alive, you weaklings and cowards. Go back to your various villages," and immediately they were whole and alive again and went their way.

He then went back to the lodge of the old woman and remained there for the night.

The next day he sent the old woman to the chief of the village, to tell him to place men at the mounds, that he would run the buffalo. The old woman came back, saying: "The chief is glad and will tell the criers to announce to the people about the run." The criers were heard in every direction, announcing about the run and the people were glad.

Found-in-the-Grass left the old woman's lodge at daybreak to run the buffalo. He repeated the procedure in running the buffalo as at his own village, using chips and the certain grass for the mangy one. He ran the buffalo twice as before and the old woman got the mangy one as her share, and the people were saying: "This is the greatest run we have ever known."

After a while he told the old woman: "I am going on to the next village."

The old woman said: "The trail is dangerous, as on the only crossing at the big river which cannot be avoided, there is a water monster, that is used for a bridge. Travelers get on his head, holding themselves on by his horns, and when the monster gets to midstream, he dives into deep water drowning those who ride on his head. Besides, in the event that one escapes the monster and succeeds in getting to the next village, there is a gambler there, whose name is Crooked Bull who forces strangers and travelers to play with him, shooting arrows at the wheel. Crooked Bull has a bad temper and when anyone beats him at this game too much, he suddenly turns into a buffalo bull and gores his victim to death."

Found-in-the-Grass told the old woman: "Do not worry about me. I can take care of myself at all times. I am a grown man now and am not afraid of anything."

So, in spite of the entreaties and warnings of the old woman, Found-in-the-Grass struck out on the trail leading to the next village of Gros Ventres.

After traveling many days through the forest he came to a big river and remembering what the old woman said about the monster, approached the shore cautiously, and sure enough a big water monster was there, asleep. He got up on his head and got a hold of the big horns and the monster turned around and began to swim across the river. Before the monster dived to deep water, Found-in-the-Grass stabbed him to death and he sank down, making the water red with his blood, while Found-in-the-Grass swam to the opposite shore safe.

He stood on the shore and in a loud voice said: "All those who were drowned by the monster and who hear my voice shall come alive." As he said this, a great number of persons came out of the water, alive, saying: "We are the ones who have been tricked by the monster and drowned." He told them: "Go back to your villages," and he went on his way. He picked up a knotty limb of a tree on the trail and used it for a cane.

After some time he came in sight of a large village and entering it found and heard the Gros Ventre language spoken there. He sought and found an old woman's lodge and entered it. The old woman invited him to sit in the place of honor and said: "My grandson, Found-in-the-Grass, I am glad to see you, and I have heard many good things about you and you are welcome in my lodge, but how did you escape the water monster on the way? And why did you come here to this village, for we are very poor and are at the point of starvation, and besides, there is a man here whose name is Crooked Bull with whom strangers must shoot at the wheel and gamble. His temper is bad and he kills at the slightest provocation when angered."

He told the old woman how he had stabbed the monster to death and how he brought back all those who had been drowned at the river, and said: "I am not afraid of Crooked Bull, the gambler, nor of anyone else. Give me something to eat, for I am hungry, not having eaten for several days."

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So, she reached under her bed of robes and got the only piece of meat she had, and cooked it for him to eat. He ate only a small piece of it and gave the rest back to the woman, telling her to eat it.

Soon a crier was heard summoning Found-in-the-Grass to go to the lodge of Crooked Bull the gambler and shoot the wheel and test his skill with arrows. After a while, he went to Crooked Bull's lodge and found that a crowd had gathered there to watch the game of shooting arrows at the wheel, that was to take place between them.

So they started to shoot arrows at the wheel and Crooked Bull was winning all bets put up by Found-in-the-Grass, until the latter was almost naked, having lost nearly everything of his, including the clothes he had on. Crooked Bull taunted him to the merriment of the crowd, until the game seemed to turn in the favor of Found-in-the-Grass, and then Crooked Bull began to get mad and to roar like distant thunder. Found-in-the-Grass was winning steadily now, and in turn Crooked Bull had lost nearly everything, and when they were rolling the wheel for the finals, Crooked Bull suddenly turned into a young and powerful buffalo and was pawing the earth, letting out bellows that sent the onlookers to cover. The bull suddenly rushed at Found-in-the-Grass to gore him to death, but at the same instant the latter disappeared.

A down feather was seen by the people floating in the air, while the bull was raging, bellowing and pawing the ground, having missed its victim. The feather landed close by the bull and it was Found-in-the-Grass who had turned into a feather. He told the bull: "Your end has come. Your taking of human lives is at an end. I am going to wipe you off the face of the earth." So saying he sent many arrows into the bull before he had time to change again, and killed him.

He went into the lodge of Crooked Bull and found a heap of human bones there. He commanded the ones whose bones they were: "Come back to life and go back to the villages from which you came." Immediately many humans came alive and went to their several villages.

Found-in-the-Grass went back to the lodge of the old woman and told her to go tell the chief of the village to send men to the mounds as on the morrow he would run the buffalo. The old woman did as told, and soon criers were heard announcing to the people that Found-in-the-Grass, the man who had killed Crooked Bull, was to run the buffalo next day.

Found-in-the-Grass struck out at daybreak for the mounds to run the buffalo. This he did two times as at the two previous villages, always using chips which turned into buffalo at his bidding and the certain grass for the mangy one which the old woman with whom he stayed got for herself alone.

The people were very glad that he had come to their village as in the nick of time he had saved them from extermination by starvation and had rid the country of the undesirables, the water monster, the Crooked Bull, the gambler. The chief of the village offered him his oldest and very beautiful daughter in marriage, also his office as chief, but he refused all saying: "In the first place, I have a wife in a village far away, and moreover I have no desire to be a chief." 539

After a while, he told the old woman: "Now since the people in this village have all the meat they need, and all dangers are gone and they can hunt and run the buffalo in peace, I am going on my way to the next village of Gros Ventres." 773

The old woman was alarmed at this and told him: "This is a dangerous and fatal thing to do, as on the only trail to the next village and one which can not be avoided, there is a big tree, which falls on and crushes to death anyone who goes under it. Besides if one succeeds in passing this tree unharmed and arrives at the next village, there is a man there with whom travelers and strangers must play football by force. And if the man is beaten at this game by anyone, he kicks him to death with a sharp iron into which one of his legs turns when he is angered."

He told the old woman: "Do not worry over me. I am a grown man and can take care of myself in any situation."

So saying, Found-in-the-Grass made ready for travel and left the village for the trail to the other village, taking with him the knotty tree limb, which he had picked up on the way.

After traveling many days, he came upon a place on the trail that was very narrow and a big tree stood along side, by which one had to pass to go on the trail. He approached the tree cautiously and when he came directly under it, he jumped back to safety, as the tree crashed to the ground and was broken up to pieces, not having anything to fall on. The tree tried to get itself together again, but failed, as it was broken up into too many pieces, and besides Found-in-the-Grass threw the pieces in every direction and they were unable to come back together.

After the big tree died, Found-in-the-Grass called out in a loud voice and commanded: "All you who lie dead under the ground and who were killed by the tree, come back to life." Many dead humans heard him and stood there alive and well again. He told them: "Go back to your villages," and they went their several ways.

He continued on the trail many more days and finally came in sight of a large village. He entered it and looked for an old woman's lodge. Finding one, he entered it, and was welcomed by the old woman and invited by her to sit in the place of honor.

The old woman wondered how he had escaped the big tree on the trail and was worried that although he escaped the tree, there was another evil element to which he was exposed and that was to play football by force with a man in the village who when beaten killed people to death with a large iron, into which one of his legs turned when he was angered.

He told the old woman: "Do not worry as I mean to take care of myself. Give me some food as I am hungry."

The old woman said that the people in this village were at the point of starvation not being able to hunt nor run the buffalo on account of the dan-

539 gers which existed in their land, but she reached under her bed and produced
a little piece of meat and cooked it and gave it to him to eat. He ate only a
773 little of it and gave the rest back to her and told her to eat it.

Soon a crier was heard calling him to the place where football was played and telling him to go there and play with the man. He went after a while, taking with him the knotty tree limb he had carried.

The game was a lively one and many people were there to watch. After a while Found-in-the-Grass was winning the game and the people began to laugh at the man whose leg turned into a sharp iron when he was angered. Now, the game was approaching its end, and Found-in-the-Grass was winner by far over the man, who suddenly flew into a rage, and made for him to kick him to death with his sharp iron leg. As the man kicked at him, Found-in-the-Grass threw the knotty tree limb in the way and the man's iron leg plunged into it and was securely fastened to it. The man could not remove his iron leg from the limb, and this angered him very much, while the people were having a good laugh at his misfortune. Found-in-the-Grass blew his breath on him and he raised in the air, sailing around and finally lighting on top of a large tree.

The man could not untangle himself and was furious but helpless. Found-in-the-Grass finally shot him to death with many arrows and the man's relatives did not bother about removing him from the tree top but left him there where his body withered away.

Found-in-the-Grass asked the people to direct him to the lodge of the man he just killed. On being shown the lodge, he entered it and to his amazement found it about filled with human bones. He commanded those whose bones lay there: "Come back to life," and as he said that, many humans came to life. He told them: "Go back to your villages," and they went their way.

He went back to the lodge of the old woman and told her to go and tell the chief of the village to send men to the mounds, that he was going to run the buffalo. The old woman went as told and soon criers were heard telling the people that Found-in-the-Grass was running buffalo the next day.

This he did two times and used buffalo chips and the certain kind of grass for the mangy buffalo, which the old woman got as her share each time, the same as before.

The people were now very happy, having plenty of meat and material for their various tools, weapons, and travois. They made new bow strings from the fresh sinew and also mended the feathers on their arrows.

Found-in-the-Grass stayed with the old woman and helped her with some of her work, hanging jerked meat, mashing bone to be boiled for grease and to be used in making pemmican.

When all this was done, he told the old woman: "I am going on to the next village to visit there." She told him: "You had better not, as on the way over there, and on the only trail and crossing at the river, a buffalo head is used for a ferry and most times this head sinks in the middle of the river, drowning those who ride on it, and even if one manages to avoid the buffalo head and get to the village, there is a big bear there with one white forearm, who dominates the people there and she has great power. If anyone dares to interfere with the bear, she points her white forearm at them at any distance and they drop dead on the spot." He told her: "Do not worry about me, for I am a grown man and am not afraid of anybody or anything."

So saying he took the trail leading to the next village of Gros Ventres. After many days traveling, he came to a big river, and on the shore and half in the water lay a bleached buffalo head. He said to himself: "This must be the head the old woman mentioned that is used as a ferry." He stepped on the head and it immediately moved into the water. As he felt the head sinking, he leaped off of it as quickly as he could and saw the head sink into deep water and it did not come up. He was satisfied that, as the head reached bottom without any human load on it, the water monster who lived under the water was angry and destroyed the head, for it did not appear on the surface any more.

He then faced toward the sunrise and said in a loud voice: "Come out from the bottom of the water and out of the stomach of the water monster, all you who have been tricked by the buffalo head." As he finished talking then, a great many human beings, young and old, male and female, came up from the bottom of the water and out of the stomach of the water monster, until they were almost enough to make a tribe. He then commanded them: "Go back to the villages from which you came," and continued on his way.

After many more days of traveling, he came in sight of a large village. Circling it, he saw an old lodge pitched on the edge of the circle. He entered and found an old woman sitting there scraping the inside of a buffalo hide. She looked up and greeted him and invited him to sit in the place of honor. Calling him by his name she asked him: "Where are you going and how did you escape from all the dangers on the trail?" He told her: "I have come a long way. I have taken many moons to get here from where I started. I have killed all the evil ones along the way."

He asked her: "Why are you scraping the hide?" She said: "I was so hungry, I was trying to get enough off of the hide to boil and eat." He said to her: "If that is all you have to eat, go on scraping and get enough for two, as I am very hungry myself, not having eaten for a long time."

The old woman scraped enough of the hide for both of them and they ate and drank the soup she made from the scrapings.

After they had eaten, he told her to go and tell the chief of the village to place men at the mounds and help him run the buffalo. The old woman protested, saying: "It will do no good to run the buffalo, as the bear with the white forearm will take all the meat and bones, as is her wont when game and meat are brought in. And if anyone has enough courage to interfere with her, she points the white forearm at him and he dies immediately." Found-in-the-Grass told the old woman to go tell the chief what he said and not mind the bear.

539 773 Finally the old woman went to the lodge of the chief to tell him what Found-in-the-Grass had ordered but she had little belief that it would do any good. The chief upon hearing this was glad and directed the criers to announce to the people this matter, and he also detailed men to sit at the mounds and help run the buffalo. The people upon hearing this announcement were very glad but at the same time very fearful that the bear would be angered, as it was the order at this village for the bear to say when game was to be gotten.

The bear upon hearing the criers flew into a rage and she growled, roared and rolled around, saying: "Whoever gave the order to run the buffalo before time will pay for it with his life. Besides, I and my cubs will take all the meat and bones as usual."

This being an exceptionally large village and hence requiring a great number of animals to supply all with meat and bones, Found-in-the-Grass left at midnight, instead of at daylight as he had done at the other villages, for the mounds and run. He gathered a great amount of buffalo chips and commanded them to turn into buffalo and they did as told and went into the run between the mounds and toward the pitfall. Then he took the special kind of grass for the mangy bull and ordered it to join in the run and fall last into the corral and manage so that one hind leg would be caught there and wait till he came.

He followed behind as usual and arriving at the pitfall and corral noticed that some of the people were packing the meat to a large lodge while others were skinning and cutting and putting thongs through the meat to pack. He gave this no serious thought but wondered, and as usual he went after the old woman to come and get her share. She protested, saying: "The bear will surely kill me if I take meat before I am told by the bear." He urged her to come and not be afraid of the bear or anyone else, as he would be with her all the time and would protect her.

So, with great fear, she went with him to the pitfall and corral to skin the mangy bull. Arriving there, he loosened the bull from where its hind leg was caught on the corral and gave it a good kick on the rump, and it became a fat bull in its prime. The old woman, notwithstanding her fear of the bear, was glad and helped him skin and fix up the meat to pack to her lodge. The pitfall and corral were deserted by the people, save for the two of them and the two cubs of the bear who were chewing up and licking up the scraps and blood left there.

They noticed that one of the cubs disappeared for a while, and when it came back, said: "My mother, the big bear, orders that you two bring the meat to her lodge." Found-in-the-Grass sent the old woman to the lodge of the bear to tell the bear that he did not intend to carry out or obey her order. The old woman protested saying: "The bear will surely point her white forearm at me and kill me."

Found-in-the-Grass told her: "Do not worry or be afraid, but go tell the bear what I said. If you refuse to do as I say, I will kill you anyway." So,

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the old woman went to tell the bear what he said, realizing there was no use to refuse, as it meant instant death from the hands of Found-in-the-Grass and there might be some escape from the bear.

When the bear heard from the old woman what he had said, she was very angry and told the old woman: "Go back and tell him to do as I wish before I go myself to enforce my rule."

The poor old woman went back and forth between the pitfall and corral four times and the last time the bear came with her to the scene to see for herself who it was that was defying her. As she approached the corral, she saw a pile of meat at the feet of Found-in-the-Grass. She stopped some distance away, and called out to him: "Pack the meat to my lodge. I have come out to see that my rule is carried out."

He paid no heed to her demand and she said: "If you refuse me four times in succession, I will be forced to treat you like all others who interfered with me." But he paid no attention to her. The fourth and last time she ordered him to pack the meat to her lodge and he still paid no attention. She then called out to him and as he straightened up from his work, she raised her white forearm and pointed it at him, but instead of killing him as it had killed all others before him, the arm of the bear broke off from her body.

She howled and growled so loud that she was heard all over the great village. She then raised up her other forearm and pointed it at him but it broke off the same as her other arm had done.

Found-in-the-Grass then took one of the kidneys of the bull and spoke to the bear who was rolling in rage and pain, and he said to her: "Look at me. I will show you how to kill by pointing but you will not live to use it on anything." So saying he pointed the kidney at the bear as she looked, and she rolled over dead.

The cubs ran around whimpering, and he said to them: "Go back to the forest and the animal world. That is where you belong, not among human beings." The cubs ran away and disappeared into the deep forest and were seen no more.

Found-in-the-Grass and the old woman packed the meat of the bull to her lodge amidst great rejoicing. Then the meat that was in the lodge of the bear was divided up among the people, and the slaves who worked for the bear were freed and told to go back to the clans from which they had been drafted. The people were most happy, as they were saved from sure starvation by Found-in-the-Grass; besides he had killed the bear and had run her cubs out to the forest and had freed the slaves.

When the meat was partly dry, he sent the old woman to the chief again, to tell him: "Send men to the mounds and help me run buffalo once more. This time nothing will interfere with or bother the people. They will have all the meat to themselves hereafter." The old woman told the chief and he told the criers to announce that to the people.

Found-in-the-Grass followed the same procedure as before in running the

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buffalo. The chief offered him his oldest and very beautiful daughter and his office as chief, but he refused all, saying: "I have a wife far away. I have been absent from her for a long time. I am going back to live with her."

So Found-in-the-Grass marched back in great triumph, through the villages to the village of his adoption, to his wife and his grandmother. He had destroyed all the things both human and animal which made traveling unsafe. He also taught all the people the art of running the buffalo, and he invented the trap which caught the black fox. (This trap was, according to tradition, a samson-post deadfall.) He ruled his village with great wisdom for many years. Thus, the prophecy pronounced by the blind old man who cut open and killed his mother came to pass.

11. Blood-Clot[18]

A long time ago when the Gros Ventres used still to make earthen dishes, there was an old couple who had three or four daughters. All the daughters were married to one man. Their husband used to leave the rest of the people and go hunting to accumulate meat and would take his father-in-law and mother-in-law along. He was a good hunter. The old father-in-law used to help him skin the game, carry the meat and so forth. But the man would never give his parents-in-law any but one little piece of meat. So the old people lived on the verge of starvation all the time. Their youngest daughter used to steal meat for them from her husband occasionally, she and they concealing the fact, and so things went along.

Once while the old father-in-law was helping his son-in-law to skin, he had his eye on quite a pool of blood and made up his mind to take it home and eat it. By the time they were ready to leave, the pool of blood had so hardened that it could be picked up. The old man let his son-in-law go ahead but the son-in-law saw the old man putting something away and asked him: "What did you pick up?" "Nothing" the old man answered. "I was only fixing up my belt."

So the old man brought the blood clot home and said to his old woman [his wife]: "Fix up the earthen pot and the fire and cook this clot." As the clot came to a boil he heard a baby crying in the pot. "There is a baby," said the man. "Get him out and we will have him for our own." They took him out of the pot of boiling water. He was a little boy and they were very glad.

When the son-in-law heard the baby crying he sent his youngest wife to see if it was a boy or girl. "If it is a girl," he said, "I will take her for my wife." So she went to her parents and asked them: "Is the baby a boy or a girl?" The old couple were not afraid of this daughter, for she treated them well while the other daughters treated them badly. They were not

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[18] This version is shorter than Kroeber, 1907, pp. 82-90, No. 20. See our footnote 14.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
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afraid to tell her the truth, so they said to her: "It is a boy. But tell your 539
husband it is a girl!" This they did so the son-in-law would not kill the boy.
The daughter did as she was told and her husband said: "All right. We will 773
treat your parents a little better. Take these scraps of meat over to your
mother so she will have milk for the baby."

After the boy was a few days old and all cleaned up he spoke to the old man: "Swing me four places inside this lodge, going clockwise, once first at the left of the door, then twice straight back from the door, then once at the right of the door." When he was swung the first time he was already getting sense. At the second swing, the boy smiled and laughed. At the third, he acted as if he wanted to jump out of the swing. At the fourth he actually did jump out of it. Then he said to the old man: "My father, make me a bow and four arrows. Make the bow from the last rib of the buffalo and the arrows with tendons from the back of the buffalo."

The old man then made the bows and arrows as he was told. The boy asked him: "What usually happens when your son-in-law goes hunting?" "Sometimes," the old man said, "he comes back to camp and leaves me out there where he made his kill, to skin and cut the meat ready for packing. Then his wives come for the meat." "When the next time comes," said the boy, "I will go along but don't tell your son-in-law that I have gone along or that I am around. Just do as you always do."

When time to hunt came again, the son-in-law said to the old man: "Get ready. I am going hunting." The old man got ready. The boy followed behind them staying in the background and hoping that the son-in-law would go away for his wives and leave the old man to do the skinning. The son-in-law killed the buffalo and the old man went over to him. "Butcher the buffalo," said the son-in-law. "I am going back to camp and send my wives to help carry the meat."

After the son-in law had gotten out of sight the boy came from hiding and went to where the old man was still butchering. By the time the boy got there, practically all the butchering was done except cutting the ribs off the backbone. "Stop butchering," said the boy, "and listen to me carefully. When the son-in-law comes back, take the kidney of the buffalo and hold it in your hand and face him. When he comes near enough to see what you have in your hand and what you are going to do, take a bite out of the kidney." "I dare not do that," said the old man. "He will kill me." "No," said the boy. "You must do as I tell you." While the boy was insisting and the old man was protesting, the son-in-law with his wives got back. The boy then hid behind the buffalo's ribs which were still on the carcass and said to the old man: "Stand at attention and do what I said." In great fear, thinking he would be killed, the old man took the buffalo kidney in his hand and faced his son-in-law. "If you don't do as I say," said the boy, "I will kill you." When the son-in-law was close enough to see clearly, the old man took a bite out of the kidney. "Put down what you are biting" said the son-in-law in a rage. This, he said once, twice, three times and after the third added:

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"I will tell you only once more. That will be the last time. If after that you still bite the kidney, I will manhandle you." After each warning, the son-in-law said, "Drop that," at the same time making a gesture with his right arm from up to his right, down to his left. As he said and did this for the fourth time, his right arm dropped off. So he tried to finish the sign with his left arm and it too dropped off.

Then the boy came out from hiding and took over the situation and said to the son-in-law: "Is that the way you have been treating this old man and his wife? Your hour has arrived. You are going to die." The son-in-law tried to run away but the boy put an arrow through him and also killed two of the man's wives. Then the old man and the boy went back to camp and on the way back the boy said to him: "Which of your four daughters pities you? Are they all on the side of your son-in-law or has any one of them shown affection for you?" "Yes," said the old man, "the youngest one is good to me." When they got back to camp the boy killed the next to youngest wife of the son-in-law. The youngest then started to run away but the boy said to her: "Don't run. I won't kill you." Then the old man, his wife, the boy and the youngest daughter took possession of all the meat in the camp and ate plenty.

Blood-Clot went to four big camps. There was always something dangerous on the road and when he got to camp something else to overcome. As Blood-Clot left the third camp the people said: "Don't go any further. At the next camp is the greatest of all dangers. If you insist and get there, you will be in extreme danger because there is a man there with a number of daughters and when a stranger comes he offers his daughters in marriage to the stranger. You can't get out of it. After you become his son-in-law he will send you after water saying, 'Go to a certain mountain for water,' but that is just to lure you to the place where his pet water monster will eat you. If by any chance you escape the water monster and get back to camp then he will send you after feathers saying, 'Go to a certain mountain top and get feathers off young birds up there and bring the feathers home as I want to use them for my arrows.' That is the supreme test because that is where Bha'a lives. Be very, very careful. We are not telling you this just for fun."

When Blood-Clot left the third camp he went on his way to the fourth. On arrival the man with the several daughters offered them to Blood-Clot as wives and Blood-Clot married all of them. Blood-Clot was well treated there and happy. One day his wives said to him: "Our father wants you to get water at a certain spring at the foot of this mountain." "Yes," said Blood-Clot, "I will fetch it." So he went. Being forewarned he went cautiously. When he got to a bit of rising ground he saw from there a body of water and a water monster half out of the water facing his trail. As soon as the water monster saw Blood-Clot the water monster opened his mouth and Blood-Clot felt that he was being pulled in from the suction. But he jerked out an arrow, mounted it and shot it his hardest into the water

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monster's mouth. The water monster in its death struggle churned up the water and then lay still, dead.

Blood-Clot opened up the water monster and found a lot of human bones inside—some of the bones without any flesh on them, some with the flesh on them and the skeleton still together. Blood-Clot pulled all the bones out of the water monster's stomach and said to them: "You are not children. Get up and go back where you belong." All of them got up alive and went off. Blood-Clot then got the water he went after and came back and said to his wives: "Here is the water. I killed a water monster over there." When they told the father this he said: "My son-in-law has killed my pet and my power." (Not a power gotten through sleeping; it was the father who controlled the water monster and made him act the way he did.)

After this the man sent his daughters to tell Blood-Clot: "Go after feathers on the top of a certain high mountain a good way from camp." When his wives gave this message to Blood-Clot he said to them: "Yes, I'll go." He got ready and very early in the morning he went off taking his bow and arrows with him.

When he got to the mountain he climbed and climbed and climbed and finally got to the top of it and here he found a large nest with two big, young birds in it. Blood-Clot said to himself: "These must be the young thunders." He looked them over good. They had many feathers. He lifted up the wing of one of them and he heard a rumbling, so he dropped it and the noise stopped. Blood-Clot asked the birds: "Where are your father and mother?" The birds answered: "They are off way up somewhere in the air." "When," asked Blood-Clot, "do your father and mother come back to your nest?" "Usually," they replied, "in the evening toward sundown." "Is there any particular sign announcing the approach of your father and mother and any different sign for one or the other?" "Yes," said the birds, "there is." "What is the sign," asked Blood-Clot, "if your father is coming back to the nest?" "A dark, heavy cloud toward the sunset [west]." "What," asked Blood-Clot, "is the sign when it is your mother coming back?" "Clouds in the west," said the birds, "but white clouds." So Blood-Clot got this information from the birds.

The birds then said to him: "Our father and mother are both powerful. You better not stay here. You better escape. If they find you here they will kill you as they have always done to anybody they find at this nest." "All right," said Blood-Clot, "but don't tell your father and mother I came here." They promised not to give Blood-Clot away and promised that "by the love of our mother." So Blood-Clot crawled into a nearby cave.

After a bit a white cloud appeared in the distance, got to the spot on the mountain close to the cave, and the mother herself arrived. "Has anyone," she asked the young birds, "come here while I have been away?" "No," said they. "No one has come." "It smells like human here," said the mother. "Some human must have been here." "No," said the young birds. "We saw no human." Blood-Clot heard them talking and while they were still talking

539 773 he came out of the cave. As soon as the mother saw Blood-Clot she took wing and sailed into the air. There was a blinding flash of lightning and this was the last thing that Blood-Clot remembered. When he came to he found himself at the base of the mountain with his hair all singed up. He then collected himself and went back up to the top of the mountain. All this,—the flash of lightning, the becoming unconscious, finding himself at the base of the mountain, climbing it again,—took place four different times. The last time that Blood-Clot climbed the mountain he twisted the beaks of the young birds and taunted them with the words: "Tell your mother about this."

The next time, however, a big, black cloud appeared and came to the mountain. The father of the birds came. So soon as the father saw Blood-Clot there was a flash of lightning but after it Blood-Clot still stood there and said to the father: "You can't do anything with me. You can't kill me. You better leave me alone. It is useless for you to shoot at me. I will show you how powerful I am."

So Blood-Clot took an arrow and mounted it and shot at a big, flat stone on top of the mountain. The arrow pierced the stone and was buried in it, all but a bit of it that stuck out. "Look at that arrow there," said Blood-Clot to the father bird. "If you can pull it out from that rock then you can do something to me that will harm me. If you can't pull it out then it is useless for you, as I told you, to try to harm me." "All right," said the father. "I can do that. That is easy." So the bird sailed up in the air. As he did so, a flash of lightning struck at this rock. Then he tried to get hold of the arrow and pull it out. He took hold and flew up to pull it out and the arrow stretched and as it contracted it pulled the bird back as the father was caught fast by it.[16] Blood-Clot saw that the bills and feet of the father thunderbird and the other thunderbirds were of buffalo neck tendon. Thus Blood-Clot trapped the father. But he released the father saying to him: "Here is how powerful I am." And with that he pulled the arrow out with ease. Then he said to the bird: "Leave me alone. You can't do anything with me."

After that he came down from the mountain, went back home and told his wives what had happened. "No wonder," he said, "your father kills off the young men as he does. Tell your father that those birds up there could not do anything with me. You probably heard the thunder and lightning and disturbance up there while I was away. The birds were trying to kill me but they did not succeed." The girls then went back and told their father

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237 283 [16] Blood-Clot's arrow, The Boy explained, was made of buffalo tendon from the upper neck of the animal—the tendon that holds the neck to the body. This is very tough and stretches like rubber when it is taken out. This tendon had many uses, for instance, for mending the broken handle of a knife. When it was wrapped around anything it was stretched as much as possible and when it dried it held very tightly. The travois basket was tied on with the same tendon.

After a while Blood-Clot took his bow and arrow and went into his father-in-law's lodge and said to him: "What you have been doing you will do no more. I am going to kill you." So Blood-Clot shot his arrows into his father-in-law and killed him. 539 773

Thus it is that Bha'a was known to be a bird. He and Blood-Clot fought but neither killed the other. Blood-Clot destroyed other evil things but Bha'a was a little too much for him to destroy. This Bha'a is the same who was associated with the Feathered Pipe.

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